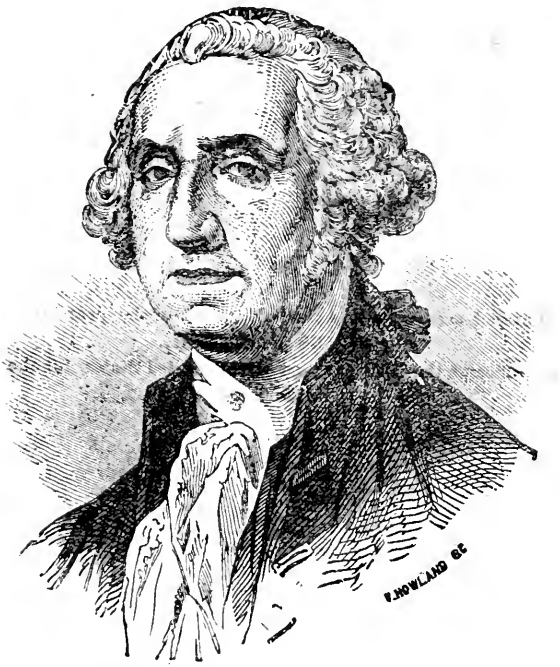
WASHINGTON'S PROPHECY,

OR

FACTS CONCERNING THE REBELLION.

BY JAMES W. MARSH.



Stubborn Facts—
Read them if you dare,
Deny them if you can.

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WASHINGTON'S PROPHECY,

OR

A TRUE HISTORY OF THE CAUSES

WHICH PRODUCED THE REBELLION.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF DISUNION SENTIMENTS.

All Americans are aware that, in most cases, the public measures proposed by the leading men of one party, are sure to be violently and bitterly opposed by the politicians of the opposite party. Thus, the war of 1812 was bitterly opposed by the Federalists of that period, because Mr. Madison and his party favored it. Many other incidents might be cited to show the perverse disposition generally exhibited by each party in relation to the measures originated or advocated by their opponents. At different periods the politicians of certain sections have become so violently embittered against the stronger and more powerful party of their opponents, that they have even plotted and conspired for the dissolution of the Union, thus showing that they were disposed to destroy the Government, rather than to remain in the Union and enjoy the benefits of a Government which they could not wield and control to suit the purposes of their party. "If we cannot rule, we will ruin," has been the motto of politicians in more than one of the great parties. The Federalists, during the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison, from 1801 to 1815, were perhaps as violent and bitter as any party that ever existed in our country. They opposed every public measure of the Administration without regard to truth, justice, consistency, or the interests of the nation. Because they could not elect a President of

their own party, they seemed determined to oppose even their own interests as citizens and the interests of their own States.

In 1808, Mr. Josiah Quincy, a leading Federalist of Massachusetts, and a member of Congress, loudly censured and abused Mr. Jefferson because he submitted to many insults and injuries from England without declaring war against her.

In 1812 we find Mr. Quincy and all his friends loudly abusing and denouncing Mr. Madison and his party because they had at last declared war, rather than submit longer to the insults of the British Government. The Federalists were determined not to be pleased with any measure of the Administration so long as it continued in the hands of their political opponents.

One of the most prominent and important events in the early history of our country was the purchase of Louisiana from the Emperor Napoleon by Mr. Jefferson, in the year 1803. It will be recollected by the intelligent reader that the tract of country called Louisiana, as purchased by Mr. Jefferson's Administration, extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean, including all the region which now forms the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and Oregon, besides large Territories not yet formed into States. The purchase of this large country for the trifling sum of sixteen million dollars was most bitterly opposed and denounced by the Federalists. What was the true reason of their opposition to the measure? Evidently they had no grounds except the perverse spirit of party. If Mr. Jefferson had been elected as a Federalist, and had subsequently made that same treaty of purchase, the Federal party would have sanctioned and supported the measure. But they were angry, discontented, and soured, because Mr. Jefferson, a Democrat and a Virginian, was elected President instead of their revered John Adams of Massachusetts. They seem to have thought that after Washington had left the Presidential chair, it rightfully belonged to Massachusetts to fill that office, and from the day when Jefferson was elected, Massachusetts became a standing, uncompromising opponent of all and every measure of his Administration.

The Federal party from 1796 to 1820 had complete control in

Massachusetts. Some of the other New England States were rather more inclined to support the measures of Jefferson and Madison, but in Massachusetts the Federal party held absolute sway. After Louisiana had been purchased, and after it had begun to exhibit, under American supervision its capacity for becoming a source of benefit to the American Union, the Federal party still continued to manifest its spite on that question, by opposing every measure introduced for the benefit of that country. No matter how completely the old French and Spanish inhabitants submitted to American laws; nor how many Northern citizens emigrated to Louisiana and desired to enjoy the benefits of the laws of the Union, the Federalists practically said to them, "We do not desire your admission into the Union, and we will not admit you if we can prevent it." Yet if Mr. Jefferson had refused to purchase Louisiana when offered to him, or had offered to sell it again at double the original cost, undoubtedly the Federal party would have abused him just as severely as they did for purchasing it.

In process of time a portion of the great territory having became sufficiently populous, was formed into a State and the people asked admission into the Union in 1811. The Federal party in Congress opposed the admission of the new State. The bill was before the House of Representatives when Mr. Josiah Quincy in an opposition speech said: "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved, that the States which compose it are free from their obligations, and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some to prepare definitely for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must." When Mr. Quincy had pronounced these words he was called to order by Mr. Poindexter. Mr. Quincy then repeated and justified the remark he had made, and to prevent all misapprehensions he committed it to writing in the following words: "If this bill passes it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of the Union: that it will free the States from their moral obligations; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of the some definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must."

After some little confusion, Mr. Poindexter required the decision of the Speaker whether it was consistent with the propriety of debate to use such an expression. He said it was radically wrong for any member to use arguments tending to dissolve the Government and tumble this body itself to dust and ashes. He further observed, "It will be found from the gentleman's own statement of his language that he has declared the right of any portion of the people to separate." Mr. Quincy now requested the Speaker to decide, saying, "If the gentleman is permitted to debate the question, I shall lose one-half of my speech." The Speaker said that "great latitude in debate was generally allowed, and that by way of argument against a bill, the first part of the gentleman's observation was admissable, but the latter member of the sentence, viz: 'that it would be the duty of some States to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must,' is contrary to the order of debate."

In this instance we see that Mr. Quincy asserted, not only the right of all the States to separate, but that it would be the duty of some—meaning, of course, Massachusetts and the New England States—to separate amicably if they could, but if not then by force of arms. It is evident from the very deliberate manner in which Mr. Quincy spoke that he and his friends had previously consulted together on the subject, and agreed to support one another in some plan of secession. But notwithstanding all opposition, Louisiana was admitted, and Massachusetts did not secede.

Three years afterwards, however, Mr. Quincy and his friends thought that the time had come for a separation. The nation was involved in a war with England; the Federalists had been for a long period engaged in firing the New England heart, and the Secessionists called a Convention of all the New England States to meet at Hartford, Connecticut. The Convention assembled according to appointment, near the close of 1814. It held its sessions with closed doors, and not a word of its business was ever permitted to reach the public through the press. Its proceedings were kept as strictly concealed as those of a Masonic Lodge. But as the members were all Federalists, all opposed to the Administration, all violently opposed to the war, and as many of

them had openly advocated separation from the Union, the subject of their deliberations may be easily guessed. Whatever they concluded to do, their objects were frustrated by the Treaty of Ghent, by which peace was made shortly afterwards. Very probably they might have considered it dangerous to attempt secession when they were not likely to receive aid from England. As soon as peace was made all threats of secession ceased. The question, however, seems an open one, whether Mr. Quincy and his Hartford Convention friends were loyal men or not. We know from history that the Governors of Connecticut and Massachusetts refused to allow their militia to go out of those States when called for by the President, and that they seemed to contend strongly for State Rights; but whether their conduct amounted to treason or not, seems an unsettled question.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE UNION.

In the year 1819, the American Union experienced a second shock. It was then for the first time that the North was arrayed against the South, and the South against the North. From 1787 to 1819 no very general dissatisfaction had arisen betwixt the two sections. It is true that numerous individuals had been constantly engaged in denouncing the institution of slavery, but the question had never been brought up in such shape as to array the two sections against each other. There seemed no jealousy, animosity or envy between them outside of Massachusetts. The Northern people gladly welcomed into the Union Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, although they were slave States. The people of the South also gladly welcomed Vermont, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, although they were free States. Besides in 1786 the State of Virginia had ceded the Northwest Territory to the Union, and on the 13th day of July, 1787, all the Southern as well as Northern members of Congress agreed to prohibit forever the existence of negro slavery in that Territory. The Territory has since been divided into five great States, viz: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, all rich and populous free States; and in those States our general Government has sold for cash nearly two hundred million dollars worth of public lands. All this money was expended in paying the debts of the Union and the expenses of the national Government. Virginia previously claimed the whole of that Territory, and all the other States acknowledged the justice of her claim. As she was in 1786 the greatest, richest, and most populous of all the States, so she proved herself the most generous of them, by giving up

that immense Territory for the benefit of the Union. She might have retained control of the whole Territory; she might have sold the lands for her own benefit. No other State claimed a better right to it. She might have reserved the right to hold it subject to settlement by slaveholders with their slaves, and subservient to Southern interests, but her statesmen were not so selfish, penurious and bigoted.

Perhaps if some one of the other States had held control over that great Territory, the Union would never have received the two hundred million dollars. But in 1787 all the Southern as well as Northern members of the Congress of the Confederation freely agreed that slavery should be prohibited in the Northwest Territory. Did this look like a desire to rule the North for the benefit of the slave power? Very oppressive and overbearing were those Southern States, were they not? Do you suppose this was done in order to obtain some favor, advantage, or benefit for the South? Not at all. Not one iota of favor, or one dollar of benefit did the South ask or receive as a compensation in any form whatever.

Do you answer that this was a kind of compromise, and that they thus obtained the privilege of establishing slavery in Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, which were also Territories at the time when the Ordinance of '87 was passed? You mistake, there was no occasion for compromise at that time on that subject. Kentucky was unanimously acknowledged as the property of Virginia, Tennessee belonged to North Carolina, Mississippi and Alabama to Georgia. Therefore there was no occasion for the South to say, give us the privilege of establishing slavery in these Southern Territories, and we will agree to prohibit slavery in the Northwest Territory. If the slave States had not then had all the Territories in their own hands, it might have been called a compromise; but at that time it was an act of perfect generosity on the part of the Southern States.

We know the South, in 1787, might have stuyed out of the Union and kept possession of the Northwest Territory, as well as all the Territories. of the Southwest, which were acknowledged as their property. But perhaps the Southern people then had no idea

that the time would come when the North would set all the slaves free, and compel the white race to accept the negro as their equals.

As every reader may see the Articles of Confederation gave the Congress which existed before the adoption of the Constitution, the power to make treaties and compacts on all subjects between the United States and any other party, provided the delegates in Congress from nine of the thirteen States should vote for such treaty or compact. In the closing article of the Ordinance of 1787, as every reader may see, the prohibition of slavery in the Northwest Territory was made an article of perpetual compact between the thirteen original States, and the people who then inhabited, or might at any future time inhabit any part of said Territory. Then when the Constitution was afterwards formed, the following clause was inserted in that document: "All debts contracted, and engagements entered into by the Congress of the Confederation, shall be as binding under the Constitution as they would have been under the Confederation."

As all treaties and compacts made by the Congress of the Confederation were in every sense of the word considered as engagements, so the compact prohibiting slavery in the Northwest Territory was immediately recognized as binding upon all the people of the United States. Therefore, the very first Congress that met under the Constitution in 1789, passed an act confirming the Ordinance of 1787 in all its parts, and of course confirming the article which prohibited slavery, and required all fugitive slaves to be delivered up to their owners.

Mr. Abraham Lincoln, in his speech at the Cooper Institute in New York, in February, 1860, dwells with great emphasis upon the Ordinance of '87, and the act of the first Congress under the Constitution in 1789, as proving the truth of the Free Soil theory that Congress had the right to prohibit slavery in all the Territories. He says, "in that Congress in 1789 were sixteen of the very men who were members of the Convention that framed the Constitution; and the act confirming the Ordinance of '87, was passed by an unanimous vote, and of course these sixteen men who assisted to form the Constitution must have voted for it, as

they did not vote against it." "Therefore," says Mr. Lincoln, "it is proved that Congress had a right to prohibit slavery in the Territories, or else these men would have objected to it. The candid reader who considers for a moment the Articles of perpetual compact made in 1787 by the Congress of the Confederation, and then examines that clause of the Constitution which makes all the engagements entered into by the Congress of the Confederation as binding upon the United States under the Constitution as they would have been under the Confederation, will see at a glance, the fallacy and sophistry of Mr. Lincoln's argument on the subject. The Congress of which he speaks never hinted that they had power to prohibit slavery in Kentucky or Tennessee, or Mississippi or Alabama, neither of which had then become States. And although they had power to legislate for the District of Columbia on all subjects, yet they received and accepted of the cession of that District from Virginia and Maryland, and never once hinted that slavery ought to be and should be abolished there.

How easy it is to see that they were not Abolitionists, like the Boston Anti-slavery societies, who, for thirty years, made so much noise concerning the existence of slavery in the District of Columbia. The Congress of 1791 admitted Kentucky and Vermont into the Union without even hinting that Congress had power under the Constitution to reject one of them because she tolerated slavery. Washington was then President, and Jefferson Secretary of State; and under that Administration the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 was enacted, and Tennessee was admitted as a slave State in 1796. They never said to Vermont, or Kentucky, or Tennessee, you must divest yourselves of the right to hold slaves, or we cannot receive you.

During all the period, from 1789 up to 1832, no party ever urged, or even petitioned Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Q. Adams, and Jackson, had each filled the Presidential chair before any effort was made by any party, in or out of Congress, to abolish slavery in the District.

John Q. Adams, it is true, after his defeat for the Presidency, and his election to Congress, did present petitions from the Anti-

Slavery Societies, asking Congress to abolish slavery in the District; but although Mr. Adams voted for the reception of the petitions, he always denied being in favor of granting their prayers. If any reader doubts the truth of these statements he may be easily satisfied by investigating the records and histories during the period from 1787 to 1860.

But we will now return to the earlier periods, and see what was the action of Congress on the slavery question. In 1802 Congress passed an act enabling the people of the State of Ohio to form a State Constitution. In that act Congress specified that slavery must be forever prohibited in that State. Mr. Jefferson, of Virginia, was then President of the United States. The slaveholding States, then, also had a majority in both Houses of Congress, and they knew that the admission of Ohio as a free State would give the free States two more Senators, and at least one more Representative immediately, yet without any feeling of envy or jealousy they all voted that Ohio must come in as a free State. Ohio was the first State formed in the Northwest Territory. When Indiana was admitted in 1816, the same prohibition of slavery was made, and Mr. Madison, as President, approved and signed the bill. This was the second State in which slavery was prohibited in consequence of the Ordinance of 1787. Illinois, in 1818, under Mr. Monroe's Administration, formed the third of those States. Michigan, in 1836, was the fourth, and came in under Gen. Jackson's Administration. Wisconsin, in 1842, was the fifth, and came in under Mr. Tyler's Administration. Thus it happened that every one of the five States formed in the Northwest Territory which were positively required to adopt free State Constitutions, thus continually increasing the strength of the free States, as they were then called, were each admitted into the Union under the administrations of Southern Presidents. And in no case did a Southern Senator or Representative oppose the Anti-slavery restriction in those States. Does this course of conduct show that the Southern people were actuated by a desire to control and govern the North for the benefit of slaveholders? Does it exhibit a determination to hold possession of the Government, when at that very time they knew that each free State

would render the South more and more liable to be overpowered? The history of that period must satisfy every candid person, that the Southern people, up to 1860, felt confident that their rights would be safe in the Union even if the free States had a majority in both Houses of Congress. Perhaps the reader may be of that class who sneer at the mention of State Rights; but he should recollect that every one of the Presidents under whom those five Northwestern States were admitted, belonged to the State Rights school of politicians. Perhaps the reader may retort, that although they were State Rights men, yet they believed in the Free Soil doctrine of the Republican party. All a mistake. They never allowed their anti-slavery or pro-slavery feelings or interests to govern their official actions as representatives of the nation. Therefore the assertion made in these days that the Government was formerly controlled by slaveholders, for their special interest and benefit, is absolutely false, and no class of men are more perfectly aware of this than Messrs. Seward, Sumner, Wilson, of Massachusetts, and their coadjutors at the present time. The action of Congress from 1789 up to 1861, was fully as fair and honorable towards the free States of the North as it was towards the slaveholding States of the South. Thus they required the five Northwestern States to prohibit slavery, at the various periods from 1802 up to 1842, exhibiting the most scrupulous candor and fairness in fulfilling the compact; but when Vermont was admitted in 1791, and Maine in 1821, Congress did not require them to prohibit slavery. And why not? Because there was no compact nor agreement, nor Constitutional obligation requiring Congress to make such a demand upon those two States. Thus it is proved that the official conduct of Southern statesmen on the slavery question during all the aforesaid period, was in every respect liberal and fair towards the North. They showed not the least desire to acquire any advantage over the North in any manner whatever. They fulfilled every Constitutional obligation with the strictest fidelity. The feelings and prejudices of the Northern people were treated with respect and consideration. The North continued to prosper, to gain wealth and population far more rapidly than the South. Can any person be so blinded

as to believe that the prosperity and progress of the North would have been any greater if the Government had been administered by Northern Presidents, than it was under Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, of Virginia, and Jackson and Polk, of Tennessee? It can hardly be possible. But it seems that the anti-slavery men of Massachusetts have been too sharp for the open-hearted, confiding Southerners.

The true version of the story makes one think of the fable of the cat and the mouse. The cat coaxed, purred, and appeared very friendly until he could get his claws on the mouse; then the mask was laid aside, and the mouse paid for his credulity with his life-blood.

CHAPTER III.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

The reader will recollect that the State of Missouri was formed of a part of the province of Louisiana, which was purchased in 1803 from the Emperor Napoleon I. Louisiana had been, since its settlement, a French province, except for a short period during which it belonged to Spain. As African slaves were used for labor in all the French, Spanish, Dutch, and English colonies in America and in the West Indies, as a natural consequence, negro slavery became the established law of Louisiana under the French Government, and continued so to be when it came into the hands of the American Union. When it was purchased the United States Government bound itself by the treaty, to allow the inhabitants every right which they had enjoyed under the French Government. Of course this included the right to hold slaves. There, again, we cross the feelings of the anti-slavery man. He says, "Look there; see how the slave-holders in 1803, were managing the Government for their own benefit." Do not be too hasty, dear reader. There had been serious trouble between Spain and our country on account of the navigation of the Mississippi, and because New Orleans and all the country around the mouth of the river was under Spanish control, so that all our Western and Southwestern States and Territories were compelled to pay tribute to Spanish Governors. The people of Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Tennessee, and other parts of the West, could have no market for the products of their labor, except by submitting to the most ridiculous taxation by the Spanish authorities. The whistle of the steamboat and locomotive had not then been heard nor even dreamed of. Could the Buckeye, the Hoosier, and the Kentuckian haul their produce in wagons, five, six and eight hundred

miles to Philadelphia or New York? What a question. What were the people of the Great West to do with their surplus products in future years, when the whole Northwest Territory should become settled? What inducement was there for the Eastern citizen to emigrate to Ohio, Indiana, or Illinois, so long as he could find no market for the products of his labor? The old Federal party cared nothing for all this. They opposed and denounced the purchase of Louisiana, and their descendants have since insisted that it was a trick of the slave power to keep possession of the Government. So as they had opposed the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, they also opposed the admission of that State into the Union in 1811.

After the election of Mr. Monroe in 1816, by an overwhelming majority over the candidates of the Federal party, the Federalists saw that all their attempts to contend successfully against the victorious Democrats were perfectly futile, and the party grew weaker at each succeeding election. They finally concluded to drop the old name and give up the inglorious contest.

From that time they never nominated any candidates for office, and a few years afterwards it was difficult to find a person who would admit that he had ever been one of the old Federal party. Mr. Monroe was elected in 1820 without any opposition except in Massachusetts. But the old Federal leaders, in giving up their organization, did not abandon their feelings of envy, revenge and animosity. As they had found they could not rule, they determined to ruin if possible. And what course did they take in order to accomplish it? They determined to array the North against the South on the slavery question. So in 1818, when the bill to enable Missouri to form a State Constitution was introduced, they succeeded in forming a Northern party, which stood shoulder to shoulder against the admission of Missouri as a State. As Missouri was a portion of the original province of Louisiana, the inhabitants, as a matter of course, held slaves. The opponents of her admission introduced in the House of Representatives the following proviso, amongst others of the kind: "All children of slaves born within the said State of Missouri after the admission thereof into the Union, shall be free, but may he held

to service until the age of twenty-five years, and the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude is prohibited except for the punishment of crime." What act could have exhibited more clearly the cloven-foot of Disunionism. The very introduction of such a condition at that time showed a cool and calculating determination to break up and dissolve the Government which they could not control for the benefit of the Federal party.

Illinois was admitted at the same session, and she was positively required to submit to the prohibitory clause of the Ordinance of 1787, and the Southern members made no opposition to her admission; therefore, it seemed doubly unfair and insulting towards the South when the Northern members attempted to compel Missouri to emancipate her slaves, as there was no reasonable ground for such a demand.

The reader should recollect that at the time we are speaking of, in 1818, the population of the North and South was not far from an equality. Virginia was still about equal to New York, and was stronger than any one of the other States. The great Northwest Territory, including Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, then contained only about a half a million of white inhabitants, and probably also, half a million of discontented, unruly Indians. Now it contains ten millions of white inhabitants, with no Indians to disturb them. At that time there were no railroads, no telegraph wires, and very few steamboats. If the Northern people then had continued to insist on the emancipation of the slaves in Missouri, and had thus prevented its admission into the Union, there is no doubt that the angry contention of that period would have caused a separation of the Union into two great parts. This was the aim of the old Disunion leaders of the Federal party. Mr. Quincy and his associates had found that they could never hope to elect one of their party as President; could never hope to obtain control of the Government, and could not create a party sufficiently strong to accomplish secession in the North, so they changed their strategy. They gave up the name of Federalists, and went to work upon the anti-slavery feeling of the Northern people, hoping thus to drive the South out of the Union. Why did they want to get rid of the South? It was because the old Federal leaders

hoped that they would then be able to control the Government for their own benefit. They did not wish to be troubled with any more Jeffersons, Madisons, or Monroes. They knew very well that if the South should then secede or separate from the North, it would be absolutely impossible to conquer it by force, and useless to attempt it; therefore they calculated to let it go.

From the biography of Henry Clay, published at New York in 1831, we probably gather more correct ideas of the Missouri question than from any other source. His biographer says: "From the first introduction of this unhappy topic into the House of Representatives, Mr. Clay, who at one rapid glance foresaw all its fearful consequences, took a decided and active part against the restriction that was insisted upon by the Northern members. Although himself a slaveholder, no one regretted more than he the existence of slavery in the United States. But he believed that the Constitution had wisely withheld from Congress all power over the subject except in the Northwest Territory, and the States to be formed in it. He believed that any remedy that might be desired could only be adopted by the States in which slavery existed. He even said that if he was a citizen of Missouri he would favor the emancipation of slaves in that State. Still, said he, 'that is a matter for the people of Missouri to determine. We have no right to force our opinions upon her people.'"

The above named proviso or condition was debated at great length and with much warmth in the House of Representatives, and was finally adopted by a majority consisting entirely of members from the non-slaveholding States. The Northern anti-slavery party had thus, as soon as they found they had a majority in one House of Congress sufficient to keep Missouri out of the Union, determined to forget all the liberality and generosity of the Southern statesmen, and show how meanly and despicably they could exhibit their own narrowness and bigotry. In the Senate the restricting clause was stricken out, and the Senate passed the bill to admit Missouri without requiring her to emancipate the slaves. Each House adhered to its own opinion; the bill to admit Missouri was defeated, and the session terminated without any settlement of the question.

During the following summer and fall, the Union, from Maine to Louisiana, and from the Atlantic to the extreme boundaries of the Great West, was fearfully agitated. In the midst of a general tumult the session of 1819 and '20 commenced. Never before had the Houses of Congress been so excited. Mr. Clay spoke at one time four hours, with an eloquence never yet exceeded. His mighty influence was exerted to its utmost against the policy of the anti-slavery faction. In voting, on every occasion it was found that the majority in the Senate was in favor of admitting Missouri unconditionally, while in the lower House the majority just as tenaciously adhered to their former policy. Finally, through the agencies of committees of conference, a compromise was agreed upon. According to this Compromise, Missouri was received into the Union without requiring her to abolish slavery, but in order to obtain enough votes in the lower House to admit her, the Southern members agreed that "in all that Territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, and which is not included in the State of Missouri, slavery and involuntary servitude, (except as a punishment for crime) is forever abolished; *Provided*, always, that any person escaping into the same from whom service or labor is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the persons claiming his or her labor as aforesaid." Here we see that the Southern members of Congress rather than leave the Union at that time, which they might have done without any fear of consequences, consented to give up all the Louisiana purchase lying north of 36 deg. 30 min. That part which they then gave up comprised fully two-thirds of the whole Territory, and contains now the States of Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and Oregon, besides large and extensive territories.

In order to satisfy the demands of a few of the Northern members, and induce them to vote for the admission of Missouri, it became necessary for the South to sacrifice her claims upon the largest portion of the Territories.

But even this did not satisfy the more obstinate and radical portion of the Northern members. The Compromise was supported

by a majority in both Houses, but a large majority of the Northern members voted against the Compromise, and were willing to let the Union be dissolved rather than yield a single inch of ground, or vote for any Compromise whatever. The dispute concerning Missouri lasted two full years, and was not finally settled until February, 1821; and on the final vote, 87 members voted for compromise and for the bill admitting Missouri, while 81 voted against it, of whom upwards of seventy were Northern members. This was the vote in the lower House. The Senate gave a large majority in favor of the admission of Missouri. Were those Northern Congressmen, who voted against the Compromise and against the admission of Missouri, true friends of the Union? If they were, why did they still vote against the admission of Missouri after the Compromise bill had passed, and when they knew that if their policy prevailed the Union must be forever broken up?

CHAPTER IV.

WHAT WAS IT ALL ABOUT?

As the reader already knows, it was negro slavery that was the subject of contention. How did it first originate, and why did not our fathers abolish it? These questions will form the subject of consideration in the present chapter.

History teaches us that the importation of negroes from Africa commenced shortly after the discovery of America. That the first negroes brought to our country arrived about the year 1630. That the governments of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, and others, openly sanctioned, licensed, and encouraged the slave trade. That all the English Colonies in America, including New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and all the New England Colonies, held slaves. The negroes were bought, sold, bequeathed to heirs or given to the children of their masters, just like other chattel property. In Massachusetts the slaves were set free by act of Legislature in 1780, while the Americans were still struggling for independence against the power of Great Britain. The other States did not commence emancipation until 1788, and at the time when the Constitution was formed in 1787, twelve of the States held slaves, and none but Massachusetts had freed them. In the whole Union, the slaves composed only about one-fifth of the population. In 1860 the slaves composed about one eighth or less.

During the war of the Revolution British Generals had attempted to incite the slaves against their masters, by promising them freedom under British protection, but they were not very successfull, and when the treaty of peace was made by which Great Britain acknowledged our independence, she agreed to pay to the owners of slaves the full value of the slaves which had been taken away by her armies.

In those days the slave trade was still continued, and it was not considered an unchristian or immoral practice for church members even in New England to hold slaves. Merchants and ship-owners, also, fitted out slave-ships to bring negroes from Africa, and sell them to Southern planters. Undoubtedly it now appears a most horrible and cruel practice. Yet the most civilized and enlightened and Christian nation in the world licensed the practice until after the commencement of the present century. Wilberforce seems to have been the first British statesman who attempted to exert an influence in Parliament against it. Undoubtedly England and France have sincerely repented of their sins in this particular, and are now righteous.

When the United States Constitution was formed, an attempt was made to give Congress power to stop the importation of slaves into the States. Under the Articles of Confederation, Congress had no control over that question, and some of the members of the Convention in 1787 desired to confer that power upon the new Congress under the Constitution. Some of the States refused to join the new Union on those terms, and that question nearly prevented the Constitution from being agreed upon. By compromise it was finally agreed that during the succeeding twenty years, Congress should have no power to stop the African slave trade, but that from the commencement of the year 1808 Congress should have that power. Therefore, the African slave trade, with all its horrors, was actually carried on for twenty years after the Constitution was formed, and Congress had no power to prevent it.

Suppose one of the radicals of that day had commenced an attack upon Dr. Franklin for consenting to the continuance of such a horrid traffic. The Doctor would have said, "My dear sir, what better could you have done? Has the Congress of the Confederation any power to stop the traffic? Is it at all likely that they would ever get that power? Can Massachusetts compel all the other States to do as she thinks best? Of course not. What would you do? Would you leave the Union? Would that measure stop the other States from continuing the slave trade? Not at all. Which, then, is the best for us to do—adopt the Constitution

giving Congress power to stop the horrid traffic at the end of twenty years, or leave things just as they are, and let the other States carry on the traffic fifty, or perhaps an hundred years, instead of twenty?"

It seems plain that in this debate the venerable philosopher would have the best of the argument. But such arguments as these did not satisfy the obstinate radicals of Massachusetts, for when they finally voted on the adoption of the Constitution, Massachusetts only gave a bare majority for the Constitution, while South Carolina gave it a very large majority; thus showing that in 1788, South Carolina was a stronger Union State than Massachusetts. No doubt the Sewards, the Sumners, Wilsons, and Chandlers of the present day would be glad if they could blot out and destroy all the evidences of the facts of our early national history; but it cannot be blotted out. The indubitable facts remain printed upon every page of history up to 1860.

Thoughtless persons at the present day often seem shocked at the circumstance, that our fathers framed a constitution which actually protected or tolerated the odious African slave trade for twenty years. Clear heads, on the contrary, can see that the Constitution never protected the traffic, and never was, in the least degree, responsible for its existence or continuance. What do you say? say the radicals. If the Constitution tolerated or permitted the traffic for twenty years, then it must have protected it and been responsible for its continuance. Not so, my friend. The framers of the Constitution desired to form a more perfect Union than that which then existed. There was no possible remedy for any of the existing evils under the Confederation, therefore any benefit gained by forming a new Union might be counted as clear gain. If one State could not get a Constitution framed to please all her people, which in fact could not be hoped for, yet, if she could get one that was in any degree better than the old system, she should not reject it because she did not get all she desired. In order to form a Union of any kind between States it was necessary that the Articles of Union should be agreed to by all the States composing that Union. A part of the States could not form a Union with Articles to suit themselves, and then force all

the other States to submit to them. They had no men or money to spare in bloody contests for coercion. Besides, at that time, such a course was acknowledged to be contrary to the very nature of our Union, and to every principle of self-government. Therefore it was considered that all the States which should become members of the Union, should come in freely of their own accord, so that the Union should be harmonious. Eleven of the States ratified the Constitution and enrolled themselves as members of the Union between the months of September, 1787, and March, 1789. Those eleven elected Washington as President, and sent members to the first Congress in New York City.

Rhode Island refused to send any delegates to the Convention which framed the Constitution, and also refused to come into the Union under it. She seems to have had some idea of remaining an independent nation, all alone. But finally, in 1790, she changed her mind and assumed her place in the Union, being the last of the old thirteeen. North Carolina, also, at first refused, but came in before Rhode Island.

As the reader has undoubtedly discovered the Constitution positively forbade Congress from interfering with the African or foreign slave trade in any of the States then existing until 1808; by plain implication it was understood that from and after the beginning of 1808, Congress should have power to prohibit it in all the States.

The four New England States might have formed a Union of their own, and they might have given their Congress power to stop the slave traffic immediately within their own limits. But if they had so done they could not have stopped New York or New Jersey from importing slaves; and as to the slave trade on their own coast in Massachusetts, Rhole Island, and New Hampshire, they could stop it at any time by State laws, without going through the form of giving the power to Congress or any other agent.

As we have previously remarked, Massachusetts freed her slaves in 1780. Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York followed her example at various periods, from 1788 up to 1826, when the last of the slaves in New York received freedom. As a matter of course,

during all that period warm debates and discussions as to the profitableness of slave labor, and the justice or injustice of slave holding, were continued and kept up in those States. During that period the writers and orators of those States found it so profitable and popular to declaim against slavery, that it finally became impossible to find an individual who would risk his popularity by opposing emancipation.

Many of the masters, on finding that they were likely to lose their slaves, carried them away to Maryland, Virginia, or Delaware, and sold them for good prices, then returned home and joined in the universal outcry against the unpopular institution. As a natural consequence of the speeches, sermons, and writings published against slavery in the North during all the aforesaid period, it became a settled opinion of the Northern mind that slave-holding was morally wrong. But the excitement and agitation which threatened the complete dissolution of the Union in 1819 and 1820, rather checked the violence of the anti-slavery men for a few years after that period. The people generally loved the Union too well to sacrifice it for an abstract principle. So, from 1821 to 1833, the Northern statesmen and writers generally spoke of slavery as an institution with which they had nothing to do. They generally admitted, that as members of the Union and American citizens it was not best to attempt forcing their opinions upon the Southern people.

Thus it came to be common for Northern citizens and statesmen to avoid all public discussion of the question, and to use such language as this: "We must let this question alone." "It is one that is too dangerous to be publicly agitated." "There is great danger that we may destroy the Union." "Besides, it is a question that does not concern us." "We have no slaves here at home, and if slavery is an evil and a wrong, we are not accountable or responsible for it." Such was the opinion expressed by Daniel Webster, Millard Filmore, and all the great statesmen of the North, from 1820 to 1860.

The arguments generally used by anti-slavery men were such as the following: Slave-holding is morally wrong, because it can not be right to hold any human being as property. Again, the

Declaration of Independence declares that all men are created equal. Then the practice of slave-holding leads to a vast amount of immoral intercourse between the black and white races. In later years they added other complaints. Amongst them was the assertion that negro slavery tended to build up a haughty, purse-proud aristocracy. Then it was also argued that many masters and overseers treated the slaves with great cruelty and inhumanity. That they were inhumanly whipped and otherwise cruelly treated, and often abused when innocent of any crime or disobedience. That this was the fact in many instances cannot be denied. There are cruel and inhuman individuals in all States and countries. It is also true that the books, stories, and novels printed in the North on this subject greatly exaggerated the facts, and often invented the most false and unfounded tales of negro suffering. The writers of novels, in order to derive profit from their books, will not confine themselves to the truth, but generally strive to invent that which will make the book sell.

As to the immorality and cruelty so often reiterated in the ears of Northern people by the Anti-Slavery party in order to excite prejudice and hostility against the South, it is evident that horrid crimes, cruel murders, and immoral practices have always been as common and numerous in the North as in the South. Is there no drunkenness, no gambling, no prostitution in the North? No profane swearing even amongst small children; no adulteries, no incest, nor sodomy, nor rape, nor cold-blooded, premeditated murders, no counterfeiting nor horse stealing? Do we keep holy the Sabbath day? Have we no railroad trains nor steamboats disturbing the quiet of the Sabbath by the thundering of their machinery? Have we no street cars with their conductors, drivers and horses, laboring for money as severely on that day as any other, contrary to all Christian principles? Can we pretend that the exceedingly virtuous, moral, and upright character of our Northern people is a bright and shining example to the rest of the civilized world? Have we not heard of crimes committed in our cities which were so revolting and disgustingly filthy that the printers of daily papers refused to set the types that described the details? These questions but merely hint at a small portion

of the black hearted depravity which is known to exist in our country, North as well as South. But they should cause the bigoted sectionalist to think twice before he indulges too freely in his usual tirade against the people of other sections.

Then as to the assertion that slave-holding is in itself morally wrong, it cannot be sustained. When we wish to ascertain whether any practice is morally wrong, we are ultimately driven to the Bible for decision. If we lay aside the Bible, then the opinion of one individual is precisely as much entitled to respect as that of another. One may hold the opinion that a certain practice is wrong, and he may point to the thousands or millions who agree with him. Another individual may believe that same practice is right, and may point to the thousands and millions who believe precisely as he does. Where shall we go in order to decide the question? The Christian world acknowledges that the Bible is the only safe-guide to a decision. So we presume murder, theft, adultery, sodomy, and incest to be wrong. Why not adopt the same rule as to slave-holding? If we are Christians we are bound by its decision. If we are infidels, then we must admit that we have no infallible guide, and that our own opinions, which are as changeable as the wind, are not to be taken as the true criterion on moral questions.

Of course the Christian must accept the Bible as the umpire. We turn to Moses, and we find that slave-holding was not only tolerated, but sanctioned by the law of the old dispensation. Leviticus and Deuteronomy will prove it beyond all doubt. Then, in the New Testament, the clearest proof that can be adduced either pro or con, is the course and conduct of Paul. We have the plainest evidence from history that slavery existed throughout all the Roman dominions in the first century of Christianity. Paul traveled and preached the Gospel in many countries and cities. He taught the whole doctrine of Christianity so far as he understood it, and probably his doctrine was as correct as that of any other teacher of the sublime system. He preached without fear, and proclaimed the curse of Deity against the most popular and common vices of the age and country. He did not scruple to declare that impurity of heart and life as well as the more flagrant

crimes should exclude the individual from the church and from heaven. His farewell letter, when about to be executed on the cross at Rome, shows that he had done his whole duty; that he gloried in what he had done, and his conscience was clear as that of any martyr to the glorious cause.

Well, how did Paul dispose of the slavery question while engaged in teaching Christianity to the nations? Did he say to the master, one of your first Christian duties is to emancipate your slaves? Did he say to the converted slave, your Christian master is now required to make you free? Not a word of it. He gave to the Christian master lessons on benevolence and kindness to his slaves, but never said to him, it is wrong to hold these persons as slaves. He instructed the poor down-trodden slaves to be obedient to their masters, faithful in the performance of all duties, and, if possible, more faithful if the master was also a Christian. And only once in all his writings does he express an opinion as to the desirableness of freedom. In that instance he says: "Art thou called (or converted) being a servant? Care not for it." That is, be contented with your lot. "But if thou mayest be made free, use it rather." Evidently meaning this: "If your freedom is offered to you, then you should prefer freedom."

Again we see him sending the converted runaway Onesimus back to his master Philemon, with a letter in which he begs or beseeches Philemon to pardon Onesimus. Pardon him for what? Why of course pardon his disobedience. And Paul offers to assure Philemon that Onesimus would from that time prove a faithful servant.

Of course this fact must be very disgusting to the minds of our modern radicals. But if Paul, the boldest, most active and most enlightened of Christian Reformers, did not know that slave-holding was wrong—did not know that Onesimus had a moral right to escape from his master—did not know that Philemon was wrong in keeping slaves—then we are completely in the dark as to whether Paul had a right to teach Christianity or not.

These facts are produced here, not in order to prove that slave-holding is right, but with the view of showing the inconsistency of those who, because they do not desire to hold slaves themselves,

therefore assume the privilege of judging what is right and wrong for their neighbors, taking their own feelings as the rule by which to judge their neighbors. But if it were proved by the very words of the Bible, that slave-holding is actually an immoral and unchristian practice, yet the radicals had no good excuse for continuing to agitate the question after they had abolished slavery in their own respective States.

One of the main leading principles of our Union consisted in the right of each State to make its own laws on all subjects which were not really delegated to Congress by the Constitution. The tenth of the amending Articles reads as follows: "All powers not delegated to the United States by this Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are hereby reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." The plain and clear meaning of this is, that Congress and the President have no powers, except those delegated to them by the Constitution; and that the States have the right to exercise any power that can be mentioned or thought of except those which they voluntarily gave up when they joined the Union. Of course they never reserved the right of secession, because they are bound to obey the Constitution and laws of the United States, and they are bound to preserve a Republican form of Government. If allowed to secede, then some other form of government might be established. But the Constitution binds all the States to guarrantee to each State a Republican form of Government, even if the people of one or more States should choose to establish a monarchy. Of course, by the terms of the Union, that kind of government which Washington and his coadjutors considered Republican, is all that is necessary in order to fulfill the conditions of the Constitution. It cannot be possible that the people of one-third of the States are bound to change the form of their State Governments merely because the other two-thirds have changed their opinions as to what a Republican form really was. It would be sufficient to say, "That form of government which was considered Republican by Washington and the founders of the Union, is all that is necessary in order to fulfill our obligations." Therefore, a change of opinion in one or more States does not bind us to change also.

Now, as the original States never gave up, or delegated to Congress the right to control their domestic institutions, and as all the States except those of the Northwest Territory were admitted into the Union with the same rights as the original States; therefore, with the exception of those five States, all have the right to decide for themselves whether they will tolerate slavery or not. Again: as the States never gave up nor delegated to Congress the right to define or punish crime against the individual States, therefore, the States have the right, and have always exercised the right, to make their own laws concerning crimes and punishments within their own limits. Some States have one kind of laws for punishing crime, while others have a different kind. If one State should choose to punish murder by a few days or hours of imprisonment, and hang the person who burns a building, while another State hangs the murderer and lets the house-burner go free, Congress has no authority over the question. And why not? Because that power is not delegated to Congress by the Constitution.

Again: as the States never gave up nor delegated to Congress the right to say who shall or shall not vote within the States; therefore, the States have always exercised the right to make their own laws on that subject. Consequently, some States allow none to vote but white male persons of twenty-one years and upwards. Others allow negroes to vote at twenty-one. Some States require the voter to reside six months in the State before voting; others require a residence of one or two years.

Thus, if Massachusetts should pass a law permitting women and children to vote, the other States would have no reason to complain, unless she, according to her usual custom, attempts to enforce them to follow her example. If any State should see proper to allow all persons above the age of fifteen years to vote, Congress could have no ground for interfering, because there is nothing in the Constitution forbidding it.

Does the reader ask for proof? Let him examine the National Constitution from beginning to end, and he will be satisfied. The same may be said in regard to the establishment of State and County Courts, the qualifications of witnesses and jurors, Judges and Attorneys.

The same may also be said in regard to schools, churches, and literary institutions of every kind. Congress has no control over them when located within a State.

A State may establish a system of religious worship within its own limits, and compel all her citizens to support it. The State of Massachusetts established the worship of the Congregational Church, and compelled all her citizens to support it. She continued to do so for nearly forty years after the National Constitution was established. She had then, and still has, a perfect right to do so if the majority of her citizens think best, because it was an original sovereign right before she came into the Union, and she never gave up nor relinquished that right. Thus a State has a right to make laws concerning religion, but Congress can not.

A State may pass laws abridging the freedom of speech and of the press, but Congress can not, excepting in the District of Columbia. As to the fact that Congress cannot abridge the freedom of speech or of the press within any State, see the first Article of the Amendments. Congress can legislate for the District of Columbia on all subjects whatsoever. Congress can make laws to punish persons who rob the United States mails or post-offices, even in any of the States. It can also make laws to punish persons who counterfeit United States coins or securities, such as bonds or Treasury notes. But Congress can not make laws to punish the person who commits a murder, a robbery, or other crime that is not placed under their control by the Constitution itself. For the same reason Congress can not make laws to punish persons who counterfeit State bonds or securities, or the notes of a Bank established by State authority. This belongs to the powers of the State itself.

Again we remark, the Governor of a State can pardon the person convicted of a crime against the State laws, if the Constitution of his State allows him so to do; but when a person is convicted within a State of any crime against the laws of Congress, then the President may pardon him, but the Governor can not.

It should be remembered that the United States Constitution is the supreme law of the land to protect State rights against Congressional or Executive usurpation, as well as to give lawful authority to Congress and the President.

All the power that Congress has is delegated to it by the Constitution. It can not lawfully claim or exercise any other powers besides, because Congress itself was created by the Constitution, and that body might as well claim that the Mormon Bible can give them new powers, as to claim one iota of power of any kind besides those given to them by the Constitution. For the same reason a President of the United States can not claim one particle of power besides those delegated to him by the Constitution. If he has any other power, where does he obtain it? Does he get it from the Mahometan Koran, the Code Napoleon, or from some other source? Every one must see that as the Constitution created the office of President, and made him an agent or delegate of the people by delegating to him certain specified powers, if he exercises any other powers he becomes a usurper as Cæsar and Napoleon did before him.

It is easily seen from the foregoing remarks that in all questions of religion and morality, each State decides for itself whether it will tolerate or prohibit any particular practice. The people of one State may prohibit the sale of lottery tickets, believing it to be wrong. But the people of other States are not bound to follow the example unless they see fit. Many people profess to believe that all theatrical performances ought to be prohibited. They have an undoubted right to procure such prohibition in their own State, but Congress has no right to make such prohibition within any State. Again, there are large numbers of our citizens who profess to believe that the manufacture and sale of spirituous liquors should be prohibited by law. All the efforts of Temperance organizations to abolish intemperance seem to have failed. We might assert that Congress ought to check the gigantic evil, especially as it is a national one. But Congress and the President can not make any law on the subject except within the District of Columbia.

The people of Massachusetts might abolish the evil in that State if they chose, and so might any other State. The people of each State might find sufficient employment for their philanthropy within the limits of their own respective States, and if they should turn their attention to those subjects they would find very little

spare time or money for the purpose of reforming their neighbors in other States. The extreme and intense advocate of total abstinence may think and say that the National Constitution is wrong, because it did not give Congress power to abolish intemperance. On the same principle the Roman Catholic might say it is wrong because it does not abolish heresy. The Jew might also assert that it is wrong because it does not prohibit the use of pork, which is an abomination in his eyes. On all these questions there are differences of opinion. The advocate of total abstinence might assert that no State has a right to do wrong, and if the Constitution protects any State in the right to manufacture or sell intoxicating drinks, then we are not bound to obey it. He might say, "There is a 'higher law' than the Constitution, and we must act according to the dictates of conscience; therefore, if we choose, we may by force and violence seize and destroy or conceal the property of those who are doing wrong." Such was the conclusion of John Brown, and such the teaching of the anti-slavery men who mobbed the officers and rescued the fugitive slaves in various parts of the North.

Every individual who attempted to argue against the violent "Higher Law" policy of those men, even if he himself was in principle opposed to slavery, was always called a pro-slavery Democrat, or pro-slavery Whig, or Dough-face, a Union-saver, etc. Such were the names bestowed by the Anti-Slavery party upon Daniel Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, and others who opposed the revolutionary schemes of the Abolitionists in 1840, 1850, and 1860.

CHAPTER V.

ERRONEOUS IDEAS OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY.

Since the year 1860, many distinguished persons have undertaken to convince the people that the States have no sovereign rights, and that this doctrine is a dangerous heresy, and was the cause of the rebellion. They pretend that they can not understand how a State can possess original, sovereign rights without also possessing the right to secede from the Union; or, in other words, they pretend to believe that the doctrine of State Sovereignty over its own domestic institutions means the same as the right to secede from the Union.

Among the notable characters who have made attacks in the public journals upon the doctrine of State Rights and State Sovereignty is the Hon. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts. His celebrated article in the Atlantic Monthly for October, 1863, on the subject of "Our Domestic Relations," is supposed by his party to be perfectly unanswerable in its arguments against the theory of State Rights.

A brief review of his argument may not be considered out of place in this little work.

Mr. Sumner says: "In the exercise of its sovereignty, Congress is entrusted with large and peculiar powers. Take notice of them and you will see how little of sovereignty is left to the States. Their simple enumeration is an argument against the pretensions of State Rights. Congress may lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes; establish a uniform rule of naturali-

zation, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcy, throughout the United States; coin money; regulate the value thereof; and fix the standard of weights and measures; establish post-offices and post-roads; promote the progress of science and the useful arts by securing for limited periods to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries; define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the laws of nations; grant letters of marque and reprisal; make rules concerning captures on land and water; raise and support armies; provide and maintain a navy; make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces; provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the Union; suppress insurrections and repel invasions; provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of officers and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress, and make all laws necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested in the Government of the United States."

Mr. Sumner then says: "With the concession of these powers to the United States, there seems to be little left for the several States."

He seems to forget that he has admitted that State Rights and State Sovereignty did exist before the Constitution was formed. That they were publicly declared in the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and in the Articles of Confederation in 1778, although Mr. Sumner plainly intimates that he thinks it was wrong. We might ask Mr. Sumner what plan he would have taken if he had been alive in 1778, to have compelled the States to relinquish their pretensions to sovereignty? Perhaps, if he had been in Washington's place, he might have invented some plan to compel or persuade the States to give up the claim of sovereignty. But alas! Mr. Sumner was not there to do this, and so the wicked, unmanageable States openly, publicly, and solemnly declared in the second Article of the Confederation that they were sovereign States.

Now, if the States were undeniably sovereign from 1778 to 1789, then the question arises, what power is it that constitutes sovereignty? If you examine the Articles of Confederation you find that, while the States were still sovereign, the Congress of the Confederation had power to determine on peace and war, sending and receiving embassadors; entering into treaties and allian ces; establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land and water were legal; grant letters of marque and reprisal, in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining, finally, appeals in all cases of captures.

Congress was also declared to be the last resort, on appeal, in all disputes between the States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever.

Under those Articles Congress also had the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians; establishing and regulating post-offices; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, except regimental officers; appointing all officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; also, making rules for the government of the land and naval forces, and directing their operation.

Under the Articles of Confederation the Congress had the power to appoint a Committee of the States, consisting of one member from each State, to act during the recess of Congress, to assess the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of the land forces, and to make requisitions upon each State, which requisition shall be binding.

By these same Articles it was declared that "every State shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions, which, by this Confederation, are sub-

mitted to them, and the Articles of Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual."

It was also declared by the same Articles, that "no State, without the consent of the United States, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or State."

"No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled."

"No State shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or State."

"No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such State."

"No State shall engage in war, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies."

"Nor shall any State grant commissions to any ship or vessel of war, nor letters of marque and reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or State, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled."

We might say, like Mr. Sumner, that after all these concessions made by the States to the General Government, there seems to be little left to the States. All these concessions were actually made to Congress in the Articles of Confederation, as the Articles themselves will show, and yet in the second Article, the sovereignty of the States is declared.

Now, as Mr. Sumner insists that the States relinquished their sovereignty by adopting the Constitution instead of the Confed-

eration, we would be glad to know precisely what power constitutes sovereignty.

There were a few powers retained by the States under the Confederation which they relinquished when they ratified the Constitution. Under those Articles the States had power to coin money and emit bills of credit, and in the Constitution they relinquished those two powers. If by so doing they lost their sovereignty, then we may at last decide what constitutes sovereignty. Perhaps they lost their sovereignty by making the Constitution the "supreme law of the land." But in the Articles of Confederation they were also bound to abide by the determination of the United States, and declared that the "Articles of Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State." So that the only difference as to the supremacy of the two documents consists in a mere change of the language. The States, then, possessed sovereignty, although the Articles were, in fact, the supreme law of the land.

There were many things that the States at that time could not do, because the Articles forbade them. And on all these questions they were bound by the Articles. Yet, at the same time, they claimed to be sovereign States, and no power denied it after Great Britain had acknowledged their independence. If Massachusetts is so tired of enjoying her own State rights, why does she not propose to relinquish all her claims to State rights? Oh, the horrible doctrine of State Rights! One might be led to suppose that Massachusetts was so terrified and disgusted at finding herself called a sovereign State, that she really wished to get out of the Union, so that she might surrender her sovereignty. But we must beg the old Bay State not to be alarmed. If the doctrine of State Sovereignty be such a horrible one, such a dangerous heresy, be pleased to remember it has been taught as a true theory by your favorite sons in former years. We will merely mention one of them. In the year 1840, Judge Story, of that State, wrote an excellent book of comments on the Constitution of the United States. He dedicated it to the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He was not a member of the Democratic party, but a co-laborer with Adams, Webster, and

Everett. But he, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, in publishing a book intended for the instruction of his fellow-citizens, concerning all the powers of the Federal Government, actually taught that the doctrine so horrible in the eyes of Mr. Sumner—the doctrine of State Sovereignty! Do you demand the evidence? Then examine Judge Story's book on the Constitution, and see his comments on the organization and duties of the Senate. On the 74th page, speaking of a certain qualifications which a Senator must possess, viz: that of being an inhabitant of the State he represents, he says: "He will also, personally, share more fully in the effects of all measures touching the Sovereignty, Rights, and Influence of the State."

What an ignoramus Judge Story must have been according to Mr. Sumner's idea. Poor Judge Story! What a pity you wrote such words before you had the opportunity of reading Mr. Sumner's article on "Our Domestic Relations!"

CHAPTER VI.

FOREIGN INFLUENCES AT WORK AGAINST THE UNION.

After the settlement of the Missouri question in 1821, the Union remained for several years in a truly harmonious condition. All parties seemed content to ignore all discussion of the slavery question, and to live in peace as friends and brethren of one great nation. All Americans were proud of their country; proud of its immense growth; proud of its flag; proud of its excellent Government.

But in the midst of this prosperty and happiness, Satan again entered the garden. Anti-Slavery Societies were formed in England and Scotland, who sent agents to the United States for the purpose of lecturing on the wickedness and cruelty of slaveholding. The citizens of a country, the mass of whose people are ground down to a condition scarcely any better than that of negro slaves; a country where the great mass are so poor that seven-eights of the adult male population are prohibited from voting on account of their poverty; those philanthropic individuals determined to engage in the work of enlightening the American people concerning their duty to the negroes. It truly seemed that these ardent admirers of the English system of government felt indignant and envious at the happiness of the American people, and determined to make a great effort for its destruction. If the destruction of the American Union, with all its blessings, had been the aim and study of the most cunning of British statesmen for fifty years, they could not have contrived any other plan so likely to succeed as that adopted by those English philanthropists, who, neglecting the case of their own suffering poor labor-

ers at home, came to America to preach, lecture, write, and print on the subject of slavery. They commenced their labors in Massachusetts. In the city of Boston landed the celebrated George Thompson, agent of the British Anti-Slavery Society, and in that city Mr. Wm. Loyd Garrison established the newspaper called the Liberator. They endeavored to work upon the feelings of Americans by representing that all civilized Europe looked with horror upon the system of negro slavery.

According to their story, those enlightened European nations who had scarcely brushed away the aroma which clung to their garments from the detestable slave trade, were awfully exercised in their minds because the American people were so cruel as to continue to hold as slaves the descendants of those Africans whom Europe had kidnapped and dragged to America. By passionate appeals to the humanity and benevolence of the New England people, these agents succeeded in kindling a flame of fanaticism more violent and ferocious than had ever before disturbed them since the days of the Salem Witchcraft-insanity. Scarcely any of the lecturers or their converts had ever been in a State where slavery existed, or knew any thing of the real condition of slaves in the South, except from statements as they heard in lectures or saw in books or newspapers published for the express purpose of exciting pity for the slaves and indignation against the masters. As to the probability that, in nine cases out of ten, or ninety-nine cases out of the hundred, masters treated their slaves kindly and humanely, and that the great mass of them were really happier and better provided for than the two hundred millions of white laborers in Europe, and far better than they would ever provide for themselves if free, such persons would not believe. In 1833, '34, and '35, the newly lighted fires of fanaticism began to attract attention. The first measure which brought them prominently before the public mind was the act of sending petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. At the session of '35 and '36, large numbers of those petitions were presented to Congress by John Q. Adams. For twelve or fifteen years previously, there had been nothing said in Congress

on the subject. But suddenly it appeared that a new fire had been kindled. Pictures were exhibited by Southern members of Congress, which had been sent from Boston to the Southern States by mail. One of them, which was in the hands of the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, attracted great attention in the Senate Chamber. These pictures were designed to excite the slaves to armed insurrection. The reader of history will recollect that such an insurrection had occurred in Virginia in 1831.

It is probable that no society of people ever labored more assiduously and perseveringly than did these anti-slavery agitators. They exhorted their followers to refuse all fellowship with the two great political parties of the day, stigmatizing both Whigs and Democrats as pro-slavery parties, corrupted and led by the slave holders of the South. Besides severing all connection with the two great national parties, they also very soon commenced applying the knife to all connections with the different religious societies. Generally they endeavored to proselyte the churches to their anti-slavery views, and lead them to declare non-fellowship with Southern churches and societies, and if they could not succeed in such efforts, then they, as individuals, withdrew from the churches. By these means great agitation and trouble were produced in different religious denominations. The Methodist Church was divided into two rival opposing bodies.

Up to the year 1840, the Anti-Slavery Societies continued their war against the Union merely as voluntary associations of individuals, not attempting any political organizations. But in that year they held a political Convention, and nominated James G. Birney as their candidate for President of the United States. At the election, Mr. Birney received about six thousand votes, mostly in Massachusetts and Connecticut. The number would have been much larger if the members of the Anti-Slavery Society had all been voters. There were large numbers of them, however, that were unnaturalized foreigners, and, besides, females, or strong-minded women, composed a very considerable proportion of the members. Most of these foreigners were of English or Scotch birth, and refused to become naturalized citizens, giving as a rea-

son, that they could not take an oath to support or obey such a wicked instrument as the Constitution of the United States.

The vote of the Anti-Slavery, or Abolition party, as they called themselves in 1840, had no perceptible influence on the Presidential election of that year, but their numbers increased so rapidly, that in 1844 they held the balance of power in New York, and if they had given their vote to Mr. Clay he would have received the vote of New York, and would have been elected instead of Mr. Polk, in that year.

During the year 1844, the leaders of the Anti-Slavery party laid down a complete plan of policy to be pursued in case their party should obtain control of the Government. This plan, as given by one of the most influential among them, embraced the following details:

First. To prohibit slave-holders from holding any office under the United States.

Second. To abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in all places where Congress had exclusive jurisdiction, by an act of that body.

Third. They determined to change the Judiciary system, and appoint a large number of District and Circuit Judges of the United States Courts—the Judges to be men of the right stamp—for a certain purpose. That purpose was to set free all the slaves in the Union. In the slave-holding States, these Judges were to issue writs of *habeas corpus*, commanding the slaves to be brought before them. The masters were to be summoned to appear and show by what authority they detained these persons in bondage. As the Abolition creed had already decided that State laws for holding slaves were not binding, those Judges would decide that these persons, being unlawfully held in bondage, therefore they were free under the clause of the Constitution which says, "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law." In this manner it was supposed that all the slaves in the Union could be set free in a short time. In order to guard against failure the authors observed: "It would, of course, be necessary to provide a sufficient military force to execute the

decrees of the Courts." So these hypocritical fanatics intended to emancipate all slaves by giving an entirely new construction to the Constitution. They knew perfectly well that the framers of the Constitution viewed the slaves as persons who had never possessed liberty, and could not, therefore, be deprived of it any more than the dead man could be deprived of life, or the destitute beggar be deprived of property, either with or without a process of law.

But what did these men care for the real meaning of the Constitution. There was no trick or quibble too mean or dishonest; no falsehood too black; no hypocrisy too devilish, for them to use if it would only aid them in destroying the Union. They laid plans for deceiving those of the people who were not easily led into their schemes. This grand programme for abolishing slavery in the States, was kept a secret in the hearts of those who had so far progressed that they could be trusted. They understood it perfectly among themselves, but to the more tender-footed of their followers they said, "We do not expect to abolish slavery in the States, nor to make negroes and whites equal, we only intend to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and prohibit it in the Territories."

Their whole course proves that their settled determination was to abolish slavery at all hazards, and if they could not effect it, then they intended to rise in arms against the Government, and secede from the Union. But they, at the same time, kept two faces, one was the secession face with which they pretended to believe that they could destroy slavery by destroying the Union, and with this face they gained the old disunion element who wished to dissolve the Union. It must not be forgotten, that in 1845, when Texas was admitted into the Union, the Legislature of Massachusetts passed a Joint Resolution declaring the Union virtually dissolved; and although they did not go so far as to declare they would separate, "amicably if they could, and violently if they must," yet they have never repealed that resolution, and it stands to this day, recorded in the State House, that Massachusetts, ever since 1845, has considered the Union dissolved. But as we before remarked, the party had another face which they donned

when speaking to a person or an assembly who might be supposed to be Union people. To them they said, "We are the true friends of the Union. We do not intend so dissolve or break up the Union; we do not intend to force you to receive the negroes as your equals." "We do not even intend to abolish slavery in the States where it exists."

How do those men act in 1866?

What honest, truthful, sincere, and candid men they are! How beautifully consistent their language and their conduct has been!

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE AMERICAN UNION.

We now come to the consideration of those particular measures which have so completely fulfilled the prediction made by Washington in his Farewell Address.

The prediction reads as follows:

"It is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth. As this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness."

Again he says: "Designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views." "One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of another district." "You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations. They tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

The first organized association which made a systematic movement in fulfilling these predictions was probably the American Anti-Slavery Society, formed at Boston about the year 1831. About the same time Wm. Loyd Garrison established his famous newspaper, called the Liberator. As the Society grew in strength, it became each succeeding year more and more intolerent and abu-

sive towards all who differed from them, or who presumed to doubt the wisdom of their measures. As all the Whigs and Democrats of that day condemned it as a dangerous association, the new Society very soon excommunicated from its fellowship both of those parties, and consigned them to perdition. Mr. Garrison placed at the head of his paper the motto, "The Union is a league with hell, and the Constitution a covenant with death." The Liberator kept this motto at its head from 1831, to 1864, and the Anti-Slavery party justified Mr. Garrison in all that he said against the Union and Constitution.

We shall now quote a few of the assertions made by these conspirators:

"The Constitution of our fathers was a mistake. Tear it in pieces and make a better. Don't say the machine is out of order, it is in order; it does what its framers intended—it protects slavery. Our claim is disunion—breaking up of the States. I have shown that you our work cannot be done under our institutions."—*Wendell Phillips.*

"This Union is a lie. The American Union is an imposture, a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell. I am for its overthrow. Up with the flag of disunion that we may have a free and glorious Republic of our own; and when that hour shall come, the hour will have arrived that shall witness the overthrow of slavery."—*Wm. Loydd Garrison.*

Perhaps Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips would like to have us now believe that they were only using highly figurative language on those occasions, and that they were real Union men, and "loyal" all the time. If they were not traitors and secessionists, then we would be glad to know what kind of language traitors would be likely to use?

At the regular anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1844, the following resolutions were passed: (See the New York Observer, May 25th, 1844.)

Resolved, That a political Union in any form between a slave-holding and a free community must necessarily involve the latter in the gulf of slavery. Therefore,

Resolved, That secession from the United States Government is the duty of every Abolitionist, since no one can take oath, or deposit a vote under its Constitution without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor to the slave-holder in his sin.

Resolved, That fourteen years of warfare against the slave-power have convinced us that every act done in support of the American Union rivets the chains of the slaves—that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of blood, must be over the remains of the present American Church, and the grave of the present Union.

Resolved, That the Abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of this agitation to dissolve the American Union.

As these resolutions, with many others of the same nature, were published in the New York Observer, the Liberator, and several other Anti-Slavery papers in 1844, no individual, who, at that time took notice of their movements, can now deny these stubborn facts.

On the first of February, 1850, Senator Hale of New Hampshire, who, afterwards, in 1852, became the Free Soil candidate for President of the United States, presented two petitions from numerous Abolitionists, praying Congress that "some plan might be devised for the dissolution of the American Union." The Hon. Daniel Webster suggested that there should have been a preamble to them in these words: *Gentlemen, Members of Congress*—Whereas, At the commencement of this session, you and each of you took your solemn oaths in the presence of God, and on the Holy Evangelists, that you would support the Constitution of the United States; now, therefore, we pray you to take immediate steps to break up the Union and overthrow the Constitution as soon as you can.

For the reception of these petitions, three of the Senators voted, they being all the Anti-Slavery men that held seats in the Senate at that time. Their names were Wm. H. Seward of New York, John P. Hale of New Hampshire, and Salmon P. Chase of Ohio. Is it possible that such men as these actually did, in 1850, vote to encourage a dissolution of the Union? Let them deny the record if they can.

On the 25th of February, 1850, the same petitions were offered in the House of Representatives by Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, and received seven votes, being all the Anti-Slavery members then in the House. Their names were Charles Allen of Massachusetts, Charles Durkee of Wisconsin, Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, Rufus K. Goodenow of Maine, George W. Julian of Indiana, Preston King of New York, and J. M. Root of Ohio.

If seven Representatives and three Senators now, in 1866,

should vote for the reception of such petitions, they would be expelled from Congress. And if any Southern member of Congress, or any Democrat, had presented such a petition in 1850, his name would now be a by-word of shame.

Mr. Seward in his works says: "Assuming that all men are equal by the law of nature and nations, the right of property in slaves falls to the ground. But you answer that the Constitution recognizes property in slaves. It would be sufficient, then, to reply that this Constitutional recognition must be void, because it is repugnant to the law of nature and of nations." (See Seward's Works, Vol. 1, page 71.)

Again Mr. Seward says: "Extend a cordial welcome to the fugitive who lays his weary limbs at your door, and defend him as you would your paternal gods. Correct your own error, that slavery has any Constitutional guarantee that may not be released, and ought not to be relinquished." (See Seward's Works, Vol. 3, pp. 301–2.)

It has been generally supposed that State Rights is an exploded doctrine, because the Constitution is the supreme law of the land; but we see that Mr. Seward, in 1850, takes the ground that there is a "higher law" than the Constitution; that each individual has a right to make a law for himself, and if the Constitution conflicts with the conscience of any person, or with his feelings, then he may treat the Constitution as void, and may violate the Constitution if he sees fit. That was the doctrine of Mr. Seward and of all his party expressed in plain English, and they seem inclined ever since to act in accordance with it. Accordingly, they taught by word and deed, that, although the Constitution commanded the return of fugitive slaves, yet if any individual felt inclined, he had a right to resist the fugitive slave law, and it was his duty to defend the fugitive "as he would his paternal gods."

In his speech in the Senate, March 11th, 1850, Mr. Seward threatened the South with violence and war unless they immediately consented to abolish slavery. He remarks: "When this answer shall be given, it will appear that the question of dissolving the Union is a complex question that embraces the fearful issue wheth-

er the Union shall stand, and slavery, under the steady, peaceful action of moral, social, and political causes, be removed by gradual voluntary effort, and with compensation, or whether the Union shall be dissolved, and civil war ensue, bringing on violent but complete and immediate emancipation."

Mr. Seward always speaks and writes in such language that his words require a touch of the plain English. Now we see from this speech of Mr. Seward's in March, 1850, delivered in the United States Senate, that his party had already got their plans laid, and all their actions from that time to this have been governed accordingly. His language at that time evidently meant just this: You Southerners may take your choice. We Anti-Slavery men have settled upon our plans, and we will not give them up. You may let the Union stand, as you seem to be so anxious for its preservation. But if you wish to preserve the Union you must consent and agree to our unalterable terms. You must agree to remove slavery by gradual, voluntary effort, and with compensation, or else the Union shall be dissolved; we Anti Slavery men will dissolve it, and then we shall, by war, emancipate your slaves completely and immediately. What else could he have meant? What other construction could have been reasonably placed upon such language? Did he expect that the Southern States would secede so long as their Constitutional rights were respected by the Government? Certainly not. Mr. Seward never expected them to secede until secession actually commenced in 1861, or else he wilfully and maliciously concealed his own opinions.

In September, 1860, Mr. Seward addressed the Republican mass meeting at Detroit, and in the course of his speech spake as follows: "Some of our Northern friends express fears that the election of a Republican President may be followed by a difficulty with the South. There is no danger, my friends. Let us elect a Republican President, and we shall have greater harmony than we ever yet had upon the slavery question."

During the same year, Mr. Seward, at Boston, used the following language a short time before the election: "What a commentary upon the history of man is the fact, that eighteen years after

the death of John Quincy Adams, the people have for their standard bearer, Abraham Lincoln, confessing the obligation of that "higher law," which the sage of Quincy proclaimed, and contending for weal or woe, life or death, in the Irrepressible Conflict between freedom and slavery. I desire only to say that we are in the last stage of the conflict before the triumphant inauguration of this policy into the Government of the United States."

Here we have the admission of Mr. Seward in 1860, that a policy entirely new was to be triumphantly inaugurated into the Government of the United States, provided they could elect a Republican President. Of course he meant that the policy of the Government under Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and all the rest down to that time, allowing the States to regulate their own domestic institutions, would be done away, and the nature of the Government would be changed. If the Anti-Slavery party could not get control of the Government, then they intended to break it up, but if they could obtain that control, then they intended to change the Government itself.

When the Republican Convention of 1856 nominated Mr. Fremont, the following resolution was adopted as part of the platform:

Resolved, That it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, Slavery and Polygamy.

The party did not pretend or profess any regard for the Union, nor for the feelings or opinions of the Southern people. They did not resemble in the least degree the patriots of '76, nor the fathers of the Constitution. They were determined, right or wrong, to destroy all friendship between the North and the South.

Judge Spaulding of Ohio, a delegate in that Convention, said: "In the case of the alternative being presented of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union, I am for dissolution, and I care not how quick it comes."

If that Convention had not been composed of disunionists such a remark would have been disavowed by them, but it was not even rebuked.

In the same Presidential campaign of 1856, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in a speech at New Haven, Connecticut, said:

"The people will not levy war, nor inaugurate a revolution until they have first tried what they can do by voting. If this peaceful remedy should fail to be applied this year, then the people will count the cost wisely, and decide for themselves boldly and firmly, which is the better way to rise in arms and throw off a Government worse than that of old King George, or endure it another four years, and then vote again."

What did Mr. Beecher mean, in 1856, by the word "revolution?" What did he mean by saying, "rise in arms, and throw off the Government?" Who was it that he supposed might "boldly and firmly" do this? Did he have reference to the people of the East, the West, the North or the South? His language scarcely needs any explanation. He was a Secessionist—a rebel in heart, and a most violent one in 1856. He plainly indicated at that time that his opinion was, that the people then ought to rise in arms against the Government, and not endure the awful tyranny another four years, and vote again.

In the same speech Mr. Beecher said: "The Constitution is the cause of every division which this vexed question of slavery has ever occasioned in this country. It has been the fountain and father of all trouble, by attempting to hold together as reconciled, two opposing principles which will not harmonize together. The only hope of the slave is over the ruins of the Government and of the American Church. The dissolution of the Union is the abolition of slavery."

Here Mr. Beecher shows that he did not approve of the Constitution or the Union, and that he was for dissolution as a means of freeing the slave. Does the language of Mr. Beecher show him to have been, in 1856, a loyal man—a friend of the Union—or a traitor and disunionist—a rebel at heart? Did any secessionist in any part of the country use more traitorous and rebellious language in 1856 than did Mr. Beecher, Mr. Garrison, Mr. Wendell Philips, and the lights of the Anti-Slavery party?

Among the documents published and circulated in 1856 by the Republican Central Committee, was a sermon by the Rev. Edmund Sears, at Wayland, Massachusetts, in which he says: "Out of the present crisis there are two paths that open before us, and

only two. One is through violence and revolution. When the public organism has become possessed with the spirit of evil, and is used for its work, the last remedy is to break it in pieces and let right and justice go free. Revolution is God's remedy."

Thus, in 1856, and in the loyal State of Massachusetts, we find men firing the New England heart, when the Southern people were quietly and peaceably engaged as loyal citizens without a word of discontent; and New England divines were persuading the Northern people that God called upon them to rise in arms against the Government. In this sermon of Mr. Sears', the reverend gentleman labored to persuade his hearers that a great crisis had arrived. That the United States Government had deprived the Northern people of their rights; that it had trampled upon them till they could stand it no longer, and, like Mr. Beecher, he thought they ought not to endure it.

It should be remembered that the principal cause of complaint which these men seemed to dwell upon was the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. These men pretended that it was a most dreadful thing to see United States officers arrest a fugitive slave and carry him back to his master. And as they could none of them deny that it was Constitutional, as Mr. Phillips and Mr. Beecher had labored to prove that it was Constitutional, therefore they determined to overthrow the Union.

The Rev. Henry W. Bellows, of New York, in time of the Presidential contest of 1856, delivered a sermon, which was also published and circulated by the Republican Central Committee, from which we also quote. He says: "Considered as a question of policy, it is by no means certain that the dissolution of the Union would be a political evil to us. The Union is great, precious, sacred; but—yes, we must say it—humanity, duty, honor, religion, are greater than the Union. This, then, is the unyielding ground of the Republican party—there is no evil possible to the country at this crisis as great as the extension of slavery. Dreadful as disunion is, the extension of slavery is still more dreadful. The dissolution of the Union, however deplorable, is not primarily a matter of conscience, but of policy. We made the Union, and we have a right to unmake it if we choose."

What was the object of the Republican Central Committee of

1856 in publishing such sentiments as these? They scattered these sermons all over the Northern States as campaign documents to aid the election of Mr. Fremont. Undoubtedly the grand idea was to prepare the Northern people for a violent separation from the Union. They determined to present the subject in so many forms before the minds of the Northern people, that when the proper time came every Northern citizen would naturally expect it. And they calculated that all the New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, would join in secession even if other States should hold back.

It is not at all probable that the Republican leaders in 1854, '55, '56, expected to gain control of the Government. If they had, they would have used other means than these in securing votes, but at that time they calculated to raise the flag of secession and take New England, with such other States as they could induce to join them, form a Confederacy, and, as Mr. Garrison said, have "a free and glorious Republic of their own."

The following insult to the American flag was published in the New York Tribune, June 13th, 1854:

ODE TO THE AMERICAN FLAG.

All hail the flaunting lie,
The stars grow pale and dim;
The stripes are bloody scars—
A lie the vaunting hymn.

It shields a pirate's deck,
It binds a man in chains;
It yokes the captive's neck,
And wipes the bloody stains!

Tear down the flaunting lie,
Half-mast the starry flag;
Insult no sunny sky
With hate's polluted rag.

Furl the boasted lie,
Till freedom lives again,
To rule once more in truth
Among untrammeled men.

Roll up the starry sheen,
Conceal its bloody stains,
For in its folds are seen,
The stamp of rustling chains.

The principal object aimed at in this insulting hymn was to impress upon the minds of Northern people the idea so long dwelt upon by the anti-slavery men, viz: that the American Union and Government was responsible for the thousand cruelties which they imagined to be daily committed by slave-holders.

CHAPTER VIII.

SUPREMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

Washington, in his Farewell Address, remarks: "The unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is justly dear to you, it is the main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety, your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. Much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth." That this was a positive prediction, and that it has been most fearfully fulfilled, is probably admitted by every American citizen.

The efforts of the anti-slavery writers and orators to render the Union and the Constitution odious, hateful, and abominable in the eyes of Northern people, were so public and so common during the period from 1832 to 1859, that those men themselves for many years were not safe in uttering their sentiments outside of Massachusetts. But after many years of arduous exertions they gained great influence in other States. Their influence was seen and felt in New England earlier than in other States, and its great increase was exhibited in the passage of Personal Liberty bills, as they were generally called.

The object of these bills was to prevent or obstruct as much as possible the arrest and return of fugitive slaves who had escaped from their masters.

When the Constitution was framed in 1787, amongst other clauses one was inserted which reads as follows: "No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regula-

tion therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

In order to secure the execution and fulfillment of this clause of the Constitution, the Congress of 1793, in the fifth year of Washington's Administration, passed a law for the arrest and return of fugitives, which he himself approved and signed.

As the anti-slavery sentiment increased in the North, there were at all times persons who would assist the fugitives in escaping from the pursuit of their masters. They generally concealed them for a time and then sent them forward to Canada, or to some point where they would be safe from pursuit. If the slave happened to be caught, very ingenious measures were often used to rescue him and conceal him. Anti-slavery men in course of time became so numerous that if a slave escaped from Maryland, Delaware, Virginia, or Kentucky, he knew where to find a friend who would send him forward two or three days journey to another friend, where he could rest and receive instructions for further journeys. This kind of arrangements received the name of the underground railroad. From 1840 to 1850 the recapture of fugitives became so difficult, that in the year 1850 a new law was passed by Congress, for the rendition of fugitive slaves. Henry Clay was one of the leading members in Congress at this time, Millard Filmore being President, and Daniel Webster Secretary of State. For their concurrence in this new law, Mr. Filmore and Mr. Webster, together with the Whig members of Congress incurred the sore displeasure and loud maledictions of the Anti-Slavery or Free Soil party. That the law was Constitutional was generally admitted even by the anti-slavery men, but they hated the Constitution, and of course there could be nothing done by either Whigs or Democrats which was not found fault with. Judge Story, of Massachusetts, himself a warm Whig, in his book of comments on the Constitution, insists strongly upon the faithful performance of this as well as every other Constitutional obligation.

Mr. Lincoln, too, in his Inaugural Address, on the 4th of March, 1861, assures the people of the United States that he had

no doubt the framers of the Constitution made that clause for the express purpose of securing the return of fugitive slaves to their masters. And he adds, the intention of the law-giver is the law.

But in order to show their contempt and dislike for the provisions of the Constitution, several States passed laws with the view to obstruct its enforcement.

In two of the States, (Vermont and Rhode Island,) these laws were so boldly violative of the Constitution that they rendered it almost impossible for their own citizens to fulfil their obligations to the United States Government. In Vermont the personal liberty law completely nullified the law of Congress.

The law of Congress authorized the officers in cases of necessity to call upon the citizens to aid them in arresting and keeping the fugitives until they could be delivered over to their masters. It also authorized the officers to arrest any person who might aid or assist in any attempt to rescue the fugitive. The anti-slavery men cried out tyranny, despotism, and used every possible means to render the law odious in the eyes of the public. They said to their unsophisticated hearers, "Why, my friend, this law makes us all a pack of dogs, to leave our business and our homes whenever the slave owner comes among us. We must turn out and spend our time in hunting runaway slaves whenever the lordly master commands us." Such language very naturally rendered the law odious in many places. Not one in a hundred of the private citizens ever examined the law for themselves, or knew any thing of its contents except from the false and exciting statements of the ranting orators and writers of the Abolition party. Probably no citizen of any State was ever compelled to aid the officers against his will, or even called upon to do so. Yet, as we have seen, these men felt so awfully oppressed by this wicked law, that they could hardly rest night or day for fear, that away up there in Vermont, or Massachusetts, where on an average not one citizen in ten thousand would see a fugitive slave in a year, the call of the officer or the master might be heard commanding them in the name of the United States to start out and hunt for a panting fugitive. So infatuated did these educated, intelligent, American citizens become, that they regarded the fugitive slave running

away from his master as one of Heaven's own children, to whom they must give aid and assistance, or forfeit their claim to heaven itself. In some instances songs and hymns were composed representing the Saviour of the world as being in reality visible in the character of an arrested fugitive, with his feet and hands ironed, and lying in a jail.

No language was too vile—in fact they could hardly find words sufficiently bitter to express their hatred towards the new fugitive slave law. Their newspapers openly advised and encouraged the people to resist it. In many cases the law was resisted, and those who resisted the law were applauded as heroes and patriots. If the officers overtook and attempted to arrest the fugitive, a mob of fanatics generally assembled to rescue them. Several mobs of this kind occurred in Boston, and on one occasion an officer was shot and wounded while in the performance of his duty. Mobs of the same kind occurred at Rochester and Buffalo, in New York; Hartford, Connecticut; at Cleveland, Oberlin, and other places in Ohio; Chicago and Ottawa, in Illinois, and many other places in the Northern and Eastern States. Mr. Wendell Phillips, on one occasion, performed the highly courageous, honorable, and patriotic act of rescuing a fugitive slave from the officers in Boston, on which occasion, being fined a considerable sum for violating the law, his anti-slavery friends raised the money by subscription and paid it.

In Vermont, the Personal Liberty Law declared that every person who might have been previously a slave, and who should in any way come into that State, should be free. By the several acts of 1843, 1850, and 1858, the State ordained that no court, justice of the peace, or magistrate, should take cognizance of any certificate, warrant, or process under the fugitive slave law, thus commanding her citizens and magistrates not to obey any process issued by the United States Courts on that subject. It also ordained that "no officer or citizen of the State should arrest or aid, or assist in arresting any person for the reason that he was claimed as a fugitive slave, and that no officer or citizen should aid or assist in removing from the State any person claimed as a fugitive slave; any officer or citizen violating this law to be fined

one thousand dollars or imprisoned five years in State prison." Thus a citizen who obeyed the law of the United States, was liable to be fined and imprisoned for so doing. How very loyal the State of Vermont was in 1858!

The States Attorneys were also commanded to act as counsel for all fugitives who might be arrested or claimed.

The act also provided for issuing writs of *habeas corpus*, and the trial by jury of all questions of fact in issue between the parties, and ordained that every person who might have been a slave, who should come, or be brought, or be in the State, either with or without the consent of his or her master or mistress, or who should come or be brought, or be involuntarily, or in any way in the State, should be free.

By this clause they also gave freedom to any fugitive slave who might be arrested in any other State and carried through the State of Vermont on the way to their master or owner. It was also ordained that every person who should hold, or attempt to hold, in the State, in slavery, or as a slave, any person mentioned as a slave in the section of the act relative to fugitive slaves, or any free person, in any form, or for any time however short, under the pretense that such person was or had been a slave, should, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned in the State prison for a term not less than one nor more than fifteen years, and be fined not exceeding two thousand dollars. It is easy to see that the slave-holder who wished to avoid the Vermont State prisons, found it best not to enter that State in pursuit of his negroes. Vermont seemed to take special pleasure in showing the people of the United States how little she regarded the laws of the Union. In order to avoid all danger of collision, negroes, if they escaped into Vermont, were never pursued, and the officers of the United States took care not to enter the State with an arrested fugitive nor to go there in pursuit of one.

The Personal Liberty Law of Rhode Island forbade the carrying away of any person by force from the State, or any judge, justice, magistrate, or court from officially aiding in the arrest of a fugitive slave under the Fugitive slave Law of 1793 or 1850. It also forbade any sheriff or other officer from arresting or detaining

any person claimed as a fugitive slave, and made the penalty five hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding six months, for violating this act. It also ordained that no officer or agent of the United States Government should be allowed to use any jail within the State to confine or detain a fugitive slave. Little Rhody must have felt very large about that time.

The Personal Liberty Law of Maine enacted that "no sheriff, deputy sheriff, coroner, constable, jailer, or justice of the peace, or other officer of the State, shall arrest or detain, or aid in so doing, in any prison or building belonging to the State, or to any county or town, any person claimed as a fugitive slave, under a penalty not exceeding one thousand dollars; and this law also makes it the duty of all county attorneys to repair to the place where such person may be held in custody, and render all necessary and legal assistance in making his defense against such claim."

Although this law does not actually violate the Constitution of the United States, yet it proved that the people of that State had determined to obstruct and prevent the Southern people from claiming those rights which they were entitled to under the Constitution and by the terms of the Union. It is true that, under the Constitution, no officer of the United States can claim the right to use any building belonging to the State or the people of a State without the consent of the Legislature of that State. The Anti-Slavery Radicals of 1850 and 1860 had, as it seems, a very correct knowledge of State Rights, so far as claiming the sovereignty over their own property; but when other States, whose people claimed the right to hold slaves, insisted on the same principle, then they discovered all at once that the doctrine of State Rights was all wrong.

The Personal Liberty Law of Massachusetts prohibited all State magistrates and judges from performing any service under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793. Yes, long before the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was passed, the Legislature of Massachusetts sought to nullify a law of Congress passed in 1793, under Washington's Administration; a law that received the approval and signature of the Father of his country. Could any act more clearly demonstrate the fact that the majority in Massachusetts

who threatened secession in 1844, and at various other times, have always been opposed to the Constitution of the United States, and to the main principles of the Union? Could any act more clearly demonstrate their hypocrisy in pretending since 1860, that they, the radicals, are the true Union men, and that all who do not coincide with their notions are rebels against the Government?

After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the Massachusetts Legislature in 1855 passed another act, under which commissioners were appointed by the Governor, whose duty it was made on being informed of the arrest of any person as a fugitive slave, "to use all means to protect and defend such alleged fugitive, and secure him a fair and impartial trial by jury." Persons holding any office under the State were forbidden to issue any warrant or other process under the Fugitive Slave Law. Jails of the State not to be used for the detention of fugitive slaves; commissioners to be appointed in every county to defend the alleged fugitives.

To the lasting honor of Governor Banks, who has since been General, he, in 1861, when about to retire from the Governorship of Massachusetts, evinced a desire to aid in some manner the restoration of the old Union. He addressed a Message to the Legislature in which, speaking of the Personal Liberty Law, he says: "I can not but regard the maintenance of a statute, whether constitutional or not, which is so unnecessary to the public service, and so detrimental to the public peace, as an inexcusable public wrong. I hope, by common consent, it may be removed from the statute book, and such guarantees as constitutional freedom demands be sought in new legislation."

Every reader can see that Governor Banks here condemns all the proceedings of the anti-slavery men from 1830 to 1860. But the Massachusetts Legislature refused to repeal the Personal Liberty Law, and said by that act, "You don't catch us acknowledging that we have ever done wrong. No, indeed."

The Personal Liberty Law of Pennsylvania reads: "No Judge of any of the Courts of this Commonwealth, nor any Alderman, or Justice of the Peace of said Commonwealth, shall have juris-

diction, or take cognizance of the case of any fugitive from labor from any of the States or Territories, under any act of Congress."

The Constitution of the United States says: "This Constitution, together with all treaties, and all laws of Congress made in accordance therewith, shall be the supreme law of the land, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

See the Personal Liberty Law of Pennsylvania, and then answer who were the most strenuous in favor of State Rights, the late slave States or the radicals, previous to the war? Who ever heard of an Abolitionist declaiming against State Rights or State Sovereignty previous to the year 1861?

The law of Michigan requires all States Attorneys to act as counsel for fugitive slaves; secures to persons arrested as fugitive slaves the benefit of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury, and forbids any officer or other person to use the State jails for detaining fugitive slaves.

The Personal Liberty Law of Ohio possesses the same general features with that of Michigan.

In Wisconsin the law required the District Attorneys of that State to act as counsel for fugitive slaves; secured to such persons the benefit of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury, and provided for appeal to be taken to the next term of the Circuit Court.

That the Anti-Slavery, Free Soil, or Republican party is responsible for the enactment of all these Personal Liberty Laws which Governor Banks, himself a Republican, admitted to be inexcusable public wrongs, and also for all the violent attempts (generally successful) which were made for the purpose of resisting the Fugitive Slave Law and rescuing the fugitives, needs no further proof. In 1856, none of the party pretended to deny the fact. Ask Mr. Wendell Phillips, Mr. H. W. Beecher, Mr. John P. Hale, Senator Wade of Ohio, or Chandler of Michigan, Sumner or Wilson of Massachusetts. Will they pretend that their memories are so treacherous that they can not distinctly recollect whether these statements are true or not?

The position assumed by these men and thousands more implied

just this: "In our opinion, our fathers, with Washington at their head, acted very unjustly when they placed in the Constitution a clause requiring the arrest and return of fugitive slaves, and that part of the Constitution we are determined we will resist and disobey. It may possibly lead to a dissolution of the Union, and that is what we desire and hope for. Let the Union be destroyed rather than preserve its peace and prosperity by obeying this clause of the Constitution."

The action of these fanatics on the subject of fugitive slaves indicated more plainly than any other, their determination to break up the Union, as acts generally speak more loudly than words.

If it were not for these Personal Liberty Laws, and the activity and violence of Abolitionists in resisting the Fugitive Slave Law and rescuing fugitives, the act of John Brown would not have appeared so excitingly dangerous to the public peace; because the violent act of Brown and his associates might not have been regarded as approved and abetted by his anti-slavery friends. But when we see that thousands and tens of thousands of people in New England and other States had, for years previously, been actuated by the same disposition towards the people of the South, then the act of John Brown appears in its true light as only one step in advance of the rest of his party. His fanaticism was the same in nature, only a little more violent in degree. His insanity, if insanity it was, only a very little exceeded that of thousands of others in Boston, and other parts of Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, and several other States.

It was not the value of the slaves rescued or carried away by the radicals that disturbed the minds of Southern people. But the evidence which it furnished of a fanatical public sentiment rapidly increasing in the North was good cause for alarm. They remonstrated, but the remonstrances were vain. They said: "We of the South have honestly obeyed all the requirements of the Constitution. We have treated the Northern people during all the past years as brethren. We have never harbored a desire to interfere with their rights, nor to forfeit their good will by acts insulting or unjust to them. Then why do your people exhibit

by all these acts such a hostility towards us?" The conduct of the Anti-Slavery party said even more loudly than their words: "We hate you and your institutions; we despise you most heartily and sincerely. We do not wish and do not intend to remain in the same Union or under the same Government with you. Therefore, if you do not leave the Union, we intend to break it up at all hazards."

CHAPTER IX.

JOHN BROWN'S BODY.

From the time of the formation of the Union in 1787 up to 1859, no one single individual ever communicated such a sudden and severe shock to the fabric of the Union as did John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Such had been the effects of the acts, words, and proceedings of the Anti-slavery radicals in the North, that the people of the North and the South had become more hostile in their feelings towards each other than they had ever before appeared.

The speeches of political demagogues, the contemptuous, scornful, venomously bitter articles written by radical newspaper editors and correspondents against the South; the sermons of political preachers in the pulpit, taken together with all the novels, pamphlets, and books, which had been written for the purpose of exciting prejudices against the South, had already produced an alarmingly dangerous condition of the popular feeling amongst Southern as well as Northern people. It had already become evident to the minds of thoughtful Union men in the North and South, that peace and the semblance of a Union could not be much longer preserved if the influence of ultra, radical, and violent men should continue to increase.

The true and sincere friends of the Union—those who had never bowed the knee to the negro, nor espoused the cause of the Boston Disunionists—the "Union-savers," and "Union-shriekers," as they were derisively called in the Republican newspapers of 1856, '58, and '59—such men as Edward Everett, Millard Fil-

more, Lewis Cass, and Stephen A. Douglass, were already filled with anxiety and fear in view of the awful precipice towards which we were being so rapidly and irresistably drawn, when a new and still more dangerous movement suddenly arrested and absorbed the attention of the country. Like the cry of "breakers ahead," when the ship is in the midst of a terrific storm, and struggling with the waves; like the cry of "fire" in the dark hours of night, when shipwreck is already so imminent, may be compared the news of the raid of John Brown in its effects upon the minds of true Union men in September, 1859. They were the only persons who could properly estimate its dangerous effects upon the minds of the people of the South, who were already under the influence of great excitement in consequence of the acts and speeches of Abolitionists.

They saw at a glance, that the raid of John Brown invading the State of Virginia with the openly avowed purpose to arm the slaves, and set them upon the work of bloody insurrection, would greatly increase the excitement of the Southern people, and render the preservation of peace and Union still more difficult.

The true Union men saw also that most of the Republican writers and speakers were evidently disposed to excuse or justify the movement of Brown, and this action would give to the Southern people still more evidence and fuller proof that their rights would not be safe in the Union if the radicals, under the name of Republicans, should obtain control of the Government. Besides, it was generally regarded as an evidence that the radicals wished to provoke and compel the Southern people to rebel, and thus get rid of the slave-holding States. Therefore the raid of John Brown rendered it doubly sure in the eyes of reflecting Union men, that an Abolition or Republican triumph in the Presidential election of 1860, following so soon after the raid, would so exasperate the masses of the Southern people, that rebellion, under the name of secession, would surely follow. But the large majority of the Republicans said: "No danger. The South cannot be kicked out of the Union. If they get angry at John Brown's raid, then let them get pleased again." It was evident to the true friends of the Union, that, under these circumstances, the election of a

Republican President by the vote of the Northern States, would result in rebellion, and probably in war. The circumstances of Brown's raid, therefore, seemed to the true Union men, as bringing the danger of dissolution many years nearer than it before appeared. It seemed to indicate, the Rubicon is now passed, it only needs one more step to bring dissolution. To some of them the dreadful horrors of civil war became to the eye of the mind a visible, certain reality. They saw and clearly understood the effects which would be produced in the minds of Southern people generally. They also saw that such was the state of feeling existing among the Republicans against slavery and the South, that the members of that party would not be disposed, under any circumstances, to yield any portion of their prejudices for the sake of peace, and would use language more insulting and abusive towards the South, if possible, than they had previously used. They saw, too, that in case secession should commence, the hot-headed, fanatical portion of the Republican party would never consent to take one step, or speak a kind word in favor of healing the breach between the two sections, but would commence using contemptuous, insulting language, and thus widen the breach. It was to the minds of true Union men also evident, that whenever the country should be placed in such a condition as this, any statesman or true Union man who would propose any kind of compromise would be treated as an enemy by the Republican party.

This was afterwards clearly proven by the manner in which the Republicans treated Douglas, Crittenden, and others, who strove to reconcile the conflicting elements in 1861.

John Brown first obtained notoriety by his active hostility against slave-holders in Kansas, at the time of the conflict between the Anti-Slavery and Pro-Slavery parties in that Territory.

When Kansas adopted her free State Constitution, Brown left the new State and returned to Pennsylvania. It is evident that he was one of the most inveterate haters of slavery. He went to Kansas pretending that he wished to become one of its peaceable citizens, and only desired to enjoy his own anti-slavery views, and vote in his own way. But we find he went there, like many others, for a different purpose. He had no intention of settling per-

manently in Kansas; but he did go there to aid in making it a free State, and he was so hostile in his feelings towards slave-holders, that he was just as willing to make Kansas a free State by fighting as by voting. He remained in Kansas as long as there was fighting to be done, and when he saw that the free State men had the majority, and the work of making it a free State was completed, he returned to the East, in order to be ready for a new enterprize which he intended should raise his fame to a high grade amongst the great men of the present century.

It is evident from a consideration of all the circumstances in the latter years of his life, that his mind was entirely occupied by one idea, which was the abolition of slavery. Like many other Northern men, he had passed much time in planning and considering upon the easiest and most feasible mode of accomplishing this seemingly great and meritorious work. He seems to have been the first anti-slavery man who actually ventured to attempt the practical execution of a scheme which had often been thought upon and talked of by others.

That plan was to lead a company of anti-slavery men into the slave-holding States, and there organize and lead an armed insurrection of slaves and free negroes.

As to the number and station of those who advised and encouraged him in this undertaking, it will probably never be known. It is publicly known, however, that several other individuals, and amongst them a very influential minister of the gospel in Boston, and the editor of an Anti-Slavery newspaper in the same place, did openly encourage the plan. The minister alluded to has since died in a foreign country. The editor was Mr. James M. Redpath, of the "Pine and Palm," published in Boston, and latterly an office-holder under the Government of the United States.

There is no doubt that Brown was greatly encouraged and stimulated in his enterprize by reading Helper's Book. In that book Helper appears to have had some knowledge that a scheme like that of Brown's was likely to be attempted, and he repeatedly threatens the slave-holders with the avenging torch of insurgent slaves by night and the sword of anti-slavery white men by day, unless they very speedily commenced the work of emancipation.

Mr. Helper in one passage remarks: "It is for you (slave-holders) to say whether we shall have justice peaceably or by violence." He promises them murder, rapine, and ruin if they refuse. It is observable that he always represented the non-slave-holding whites of the South as enemies to the system of slavery, and as being, many of them, in favor of abolition. These representations, made by Helper, were undoubtedly seized upon with great avidity, and believed as absolutely true by Brown, as well as many thousands of Northern citizens, and even by the great mass of those who voted with the Republicans in 1860. Such views as these seemed to make the work of abolition plain and easy.

Thus Brown concluded that it was useless to wait any longer. It seemed perfectly clear to his mind that if he should, at the head of fifteen or twenty men, capture the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, which he might do with little or no resistance, he would there obtain a quantity of arms and ammunition which were always kept in store at that place, then march out into the country and inform a few of the negroes, the news would easily spread amongst them that a party of white men had come to set them free, and they would flock around Brown as the Israelites flocked around Moses when he appeared as their deliverer from Egyptian bondage. Then he would march South; the slaves and free negroes in every direction would rise and join his army; the slave-holders would be panic-stricken and flee for their lives, leaving every kind of supplies and property in the hands of the slaves. The poor whites who were not slave-holders, would look on with indifference, and thus Brown would march in triumph through the Southern States. He chose the month of September for the commencement of his great undertaking, calculating that before the hot weather of the following year should set in, he would be far advanced in its completion. He had not a doubt in his mind as to the final result, and he expected to reap a reward that would fully compensate him for all his exertions.

Brown entered the Arsenal with his men. The Arsenal had been for many years without any guards, as it seems never to have entered the mind of the Secretary of War that there would be such an occurrence. So the keeper was taken by surprise, and

surrendered. Brown then set about raising his army of negroes to carry the muskets from the Arsenal. But the negroes, it seems, could not be made to understand the nature of the project, or else they had not the courage to take up arms in the good cause. So stood matters, when the Virginia authorities, being informed on the subject, sent a company to arrest Brown and his little army. Brown concluded to fight, but was overpowered. He, with several of his men, were captured, and himself and two others were tried and executed for murder, one of the Sheriff's *posse* having been killed in the skirmish.

After his sentence was made known to his anti-slavery friends, some of them threatened to march to Charlestown and rescue him from the jail, but they seemed to have abandoned the project, and Brown was hanged. On the day appointed for his execution the leading radical papers of the North and East were issued with the badges of mourning; meetings were held in many cities and towns to express sympathy for him, and he was eulogized by a thousand tongues as a hero and martyr.

If Brown had succeeded as he hoped and expected, in raising and arming a large force of negroes, who can doubt the result? Who can imagine the scene of murder, rapine, and cruelty which would have followed. It would not have been the families of slaveholders alone who would have suffered, but an indiscriminate slaughter, without regard to age, sex, or condition would have been the consequence. Those who have read the history of St. Domingo can have no doubts as to the truth of this remark.

But the radical fanatics of the East and North could only view the attempt as a righteous act. Mr. Lovejoy, of Illinois, a Republican member of Congress, said in a speech on the floor of the House, April 5th, 1860, speaking of Brown: "I believe that his purpose was a good one, that so far as motives went, his were honest and truthful. Despotism has seldom sacrificed three nobler victims than Brown, Stevens, and Hazlett." Can we not imagine the feelings of Southern Representatives on hearing such language from a Northern member of Congress? If we ourselves had been in their places, could we have listened to it with a calm, unruffled, Christian temper?

On the 2d of December, 1859, the day fixed for Brown's execution, the Melodeon Hall in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, was draped in mourning, and a meeting assembled to weep over his fate. Mr. Albert G. Riddle, the President of the meeting, made a speech, which was published, in which he used the following words: "John Brown is dead, but what of that? Why is it that you gather together here, and all over the land the very bells have vibrated with the significance of the hour? Do we venerate a traitor? Not at all, but because slavery has seized the old man, John Brown, in the gaze of two hemispheres, as a victim on whom to wreak its vengeance. It matters not to us that all this is done under the form of law. What of that? So, ages ago, the charge was made against the Saviour of the world, and a 'strong case,' as the lawyers would say, was found, and he was pronounced guilty and put to death. But this event has also developed and exhibited the nobleness and greatness of Brown and his associates."

Will any one attempt to deny that this speaker sanctioned and justified the object of Brown's raid, which, as all know, was a project for a bloody and murderous insurrection? How insane must be the person who could compare John Brown's execution to that of the Saviour of mankind.

Judge D. R. Tilden also made a speech at the same meeting, from which we quote the following: "Amid the feelings I have had on the death of my old and valued friend, I am almost unable to express myself as I otherwise would. I could not fail, however, to express to this meeting my respect, my admiration, my veneration for the old man whom Virginia has this day executed on the gallows. John Brown has gone to his grave, and we can't call him back; but I propose that we baptize ourselves in his spirit, and stand upon a foundation of adamant in unalterable hostility to slavery."

Judge Spalding, also, the same person who, at the Republican Convention of 1856, made the remarks recorded on another page of this work, made a speech at this meeting in Cleveland, from which we quote the following: "I claim John Brown as a hero, true to his conscience, and true to his God. We have met to honor him for his faithfulness to his convictions of duty and his prin-

ciples. We have met to honor those principles and the cause in which he died."

Mr. Horace Greeley, in the New York Tribune of December 9th, 1859, says of Brown: "Unwise the world will call him—reckless of artificial yet palpable obligations he certainly was; his very errors were heroic, the faults of a brave, impulsive, truthful nature, impatient of wrong, and only too conscious that 'resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.' Let whoever would first cast a stone, ask himself whether his own noblest act was equal in grandeur and nobility to that for which John Brown pays the penalty of death on the gallows."

Again Mr. Greeley says: "To all who have suffered for human good, who have been persecuted for an idea, who have been hated because of their efforts to make the daily path of the despised and unfortunate less rugged, his memory will be fragrant through generations. It will be easier to die hereafter in a good cause, even on the gallows, since Brown has hallowed that mode of exit from the troubles and temptations of this mortal life."

According to Mr. Greeley's notions, John Brown was a persecuted and a murdered man. The Virginians ought not to have attempted to arrest him or interfere with his projects.

Our next quotation is from the Winsted Herald, a Republican paper in Connecticut, which afterwards had at the head of its columns the names of Lincoln and Hamlin: "For one, we confess we love him, we honor him, we applaud him. He was honest in his principles, courageous in their defense, and we have yet to be taught, reading from the book of inspiration, which we acknowledge, how and wherein old John Brown was a transgressor."

Gov. John A. Andrews, of Massachusetts, presided over a meeting held in Boston in honor of John Brown, on the 19th of November, 1859. He made a speech from which we extract the following: "John Brown and his companions in the conflict at Harper's Ferry; those who fell there and those who are to suffer on the scaffold, are victims and martyrs to an idea. There is an irrepressible conflict between right and wrong. They are among the martyrs of that conflict. John Brown was right. I sympathize with the man, I sympathize with the idea, because I sympathize with and believe in the eternal right."

Governor Andrews seems to believe that those who did not sympathize with John Brown and his ideas did not sympathize nor believe in the eternal right. We might be led to suppose that such a man could never do a wrong act or an unjust act.

The New Haven Palladium mentioned Brown's execution thus: "John Brown had no murder or treason in his heart. His mission was one of freedom. Eulogies, marble monuments, poems, and processions will celebrate his fame, and give his name to posterity as that of a good man and a true friend to his race."

The Hartford Press speaks thus: "For the old veteran himself, we have profound respect, not pity; that he asks from no man. He scorns excuse or apology—he saw his fellow-men in chains—he counted the cost, and went straight to relieve them. Heaven send us more of the element that makes such men."

The Rev. Mr. Gulliver, of Norwich, Conn., preached a funeral sermon on the subject of Brown's death, which was published in the Norwich Bulletin, a Republican paper. He says: "John Brown is a man whose moral developments so tower above those of the mass of men, that, by one consent, they are pronounced sublime."

On the 20th of November, 1859, a large meeting was held at Natick, Mass., the residence of Senator Wilson, who was present. The following resolution was adopted by the meeting:

"WHEREAS, Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God. Therefore,
Resolved, That it is the highest duty of slaves to resist their masters, and it is the right and duty of the people of the North to incite slaves to resistance and to aid them in it."

On the 2d of December, 1859, the day of Brown's execution, a meeting was held in Philadelphia, at which Theodore Tilton, the editor of the New York Independent, said: "This scaffold in Virginia will stand as long as the world stands. No man can ever blot it out or put it away. It will abide forever as a monument of a Christian man who lived a hero and died a martyr, and whose name to-day, bequeathed to history, shall go down through the world, gathering increasing honors in all coming time."

On the 6th of November, 1859, the Rev. Edwin M. Wheelock preached a sermon at Dana, N. H., in which he remarked: "One such man as John Brown makes total depravity impossible, and

proves that American greatness did not die with Washington. The gallows from which he ascends to heaven will be in our politics what the cross is in our religion. To be hanged in Virginia is like being crucified in Jerusalem. It is the last tribute vice pays to virtue."

Such were the terms in which the radicals expressed their veneration for John Brown. They did not even hint that he was insane in the least degree. One year afterwards many of them said: "You had no reason to pay any attention to John Brown, he was insane." Some of the active leaders of the party immediately commenced collecting a fund for the support of Brown's family, which was probably an act of true charity. We make it the subject of remark not to condemn the charitable object, but only with the view of showing, as we proceed, how generally the fanatical spirit existed in many northern States, as indicated by the manner in which the radicals spoke of Brown.

Theodore Hyatt had charge of the fund collected for Brown's family, which was raised by selling a photograph likeness of Brown himself. So great was the rush for them that Mr. Hyatt, on the 19th of November, five days after the scheme was advertised in the New York Tribune, writes that in the space of one hundred hours the fund had reached two hundred dollars. Mr. Hyatt published in the Tribune extracts from the letters that he received from various parts of the country. In order to exhibit a few samples of the prevailing fanaticism on this subject, we quote a very small number of the extracts.

Lydia Maria Child writes: "I enclose you $2. I should like to have every form of his likeness that can be devised, and have no corner of my dwelling without a memorial of him. The brave, self-sacrificing old man."

A clergyman, Waterford, N. Y., writes to Mr. Hyatt: God bless you and those engaged with you. "I enclose $1 for good old Brown's photograph. I want it that my children may the more frequently have their attention called to the brave old martyr."

D. H., West Troy, N. Y., writes: "Send me three photographs of the greatest hero of the age."

S. S., Bethel, Conn., writes: "I wish to send my mite to make up the fund for the family of John Brown, that Israelite, indeed, in whom is no guile."

D. M. E., Lancaster, Ohio, writes: "Enclosed find $1. Let us in every way uphold the hand that strikes for freedom through the land."

Lucy N. C., of Rochester, N. Y., writes: "Enclosed find my subscription for the likeness of dear old John Brown."

S. E., of New York, writes: "Every true friend of freedom is morally and indirectly the accomplice of John Brown. Every man who hates slavery, and is not afraid to answer for his principles and their consequences, is his accomplice."

Through all the speeches and writings of those radicals which we have quoted, no person can discover a particle of love for the Union. They express great love for freedom, of course meaning negro freedom. But they never once expressed any love for the Union; any desire for its preservation, nor any disposition to obey the laws of the Union. Their whole course shows that they rather wished to overthrow the Government and destroy the Union. Their words and actions in ten thousand instances proved conclusively to the minds of such men as Douglas, Fillmore, Cass, Crittenden, and Daniel Webster, and convinced the Southern statesmen too that the leaders and most influential men of the Republican party up to the beginning of 1861, were not friends of the Union, but would willingly have let "the Union slide" rather than live under it as our fathers made it.

But yet, although the radicals must have seen that such acts as those of John Brown were calculated to destroy the Union, they had not the courage to march for the rescue of Brown. They could express in such extravagant language their admiration and love for the old man, and yet they did not dare to lift a finger towards rescuing him from the gallows. Even so, afterwards, in 1861, they began to search the English language to find words to express their love for the Union of our fathers, and their hatred, scorn, and contempt for all who did not talk as loudly as they did. But, although butter and honey together were not half so sweet as their words of love, veneration, and adoration of the old flag

and the old Union in 1861, yet, when called upon to shoulder the musket, very few of them could be persuaded to do so. They talked loudly and bravely, advised their neighbors and neighbor's sons to go fight for the Union, but they themselves were just as much afraid of dying then as they were when John Brown was confined in the Charlestown jail, awaiting the dreadful 2d of December, 1859. And after all these radicals had done to provoke discord and disunion, they, in 1861, put on the most innocent, sober faces that were ever seen. They said: "What in the world have we done that was injurious to you Southerners? Have we ever interfered with your institutions or your rights? It is all a mistake. Some body has been telling lies about us. You have been altogether misinformed. You have not the slightest reason to suspect us of any design against your institutions. No, indeed; we are true friends of the glorious old Union—the best system of government the sun ever shone upon. We love the glorious old flag—the stars and stripes. It must have been some crazy man that wrote those words, 'Tear down the flaunting lie.' John Brown was not one of us. He acted entirely for himself. We did not countenance him or approve his course. No, indeed; he was insane."

This was the kind of language used by the radicals in 1861, within eighteen months after they had preached such sermons and wrote such paragraphs, praising him as a second Washington, and comparing him to Jesus, the Son of God. The friends of the Union proposed a compromise; but the radicals said, "There is nothing to compromise about. We have done nothing, nor attempted to do any thing against you. We are the friends of the Union; you are rebels and traitors in arms. We will make no compromise with rebels. The laws of the Union must be enforced, and you must lay down your arms."

CHAPTER X.

TURNING A NEW LEAF.

The year 1860 will, throughout all future time, be distinguished by American historians as the period when a great change occurred, and an entirely new chapter commenced. Up to this year the Democratic party had held control of the Administration for forty-eight years in all, since the election of Jefferson in 1801. As Washington was not a party President in any sense of the word, so the eight years of his administration can not be claimed by either party. Therefore, of course, the old Federal party never held control of the Administration but four years, or during the administration of John Adams, from 1797 to 1801. The administration of Mr. Monroe ended March 4th, 1825. At that time the old Federal party had entirely disappeared. In fact, its organization entirely ceased before the year 1820. In 1824 the contest for the Presidency was entirely personal in its character. All the candidates, John Q. Adams, Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, and Wm. H. Crawford, had been, for at least twenty years, members of the Democratic party. Their contest for the Presidency, therefore, was conducted without any regular party organization. Most of the Federalists who still remained in existence voted for Mr. Adams, on account of his New England birth and education. In 1828 a new organization of parties took place, and instead of four there were only two parties again. It was then Whigs and Democrats instead of Federalists and Democrats. Gen. Jackson was then elected, and occupied the presidential chair until 1837. Mr. Van Buren then occupied it until 1841. The Whigs suc-

ceeded in electing Gen. Harrison in November, 1840, so that the Administration passed into their hands in March, 1841. General Harrison died in April, 1841, and Mr. Tyler, the Vice President, occupied the chair during the remaining three years and eleven months, until March, 1845. Mr. Polk then filled the chair until March, 1849, when Gen. Taylor, the Whig President, succeeded him. In 1852 the Democrats elected Gen. Pierce by an overwhelming vote, and again obtained control of the Administration. In 1856 the Democrats again succeeded, and elected Mr. Buchanan. The Whigs, of course, only held control of the Government eight years between the years 1828 and 1860. Thus the opponents of Democracy only held the presidency twelve years since it was first established up to the election of 1850. As Washington was not an opponent of Democracy during his eight years, and as John Q. Adams did not, during his administration, profess any opposition to Democratic principles, therefore, his administration may be also set down as neutral. Therefore, we claim that, from 1789 up to 1861, the Democratic party had controlled the Government forty-eight years, the opponents of that party had controlled it for twelve years, and the remaining twelve years had been administered by neutrals, or persons of no party. During all the period from 1828 to 1856, the Whigs and Democrats were National parties. Neither of them were accused of sectional preferences. Some times the Whigs had a majority in the North when the Democrats had the majority in the South. At other times the Democrats had a majority both North and South, and even a greater majority in the North than they had in the South. Again, the Whigs some times had a majority both North and South, as they did when Harrison was elected in 1840, and Gen. Taylor in 1848. When Mr. Van Buren was elected in 1836, he was supported by a large proportion of Southern as well as Northern voters.

When Gen. Harrison was elected in 1840, Massachusetts, along with New York and Pennsylvania, as well as many of the Southern States, supported him without any questions or conditions; not because his sentiments on the slavery question were different from those of Van Buren, for this was not the case, neither of

them were Southern men, neither of them slave-holders, and no question was ever asked as to their views of slavery.

Again, when Mr. Polk was elected in 1844, over Mr. Clay, he received the votes of New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Illinois, Indiana, and many other Northern as well as Southern States, not because he differed from Mr. Clay as to slavery, both of them being Southern men and slave-holders, but because the majority in those States desired to uphold the Democratic principles as to banks and tariffs. Mr. Clay at the same time received the votes of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Kentucky, North Carolina, and many other Northern and Southern States, merely because he was the Whig candidate.

In 1848 the Whigs nominated Gen. Taylor, of Louisiana, and the Democrats nominated General Cass, of Michigan. General Taylor, although a Southern man and a slave-holder, received a majority in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, and many other Northern States, besides a majority of the Southern States, while Gen. Cass, although a Northern man, received the votes of South Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas, Florida, Alabama, and Missouri, in the South, and those of New Hampshire, Maine, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and others in the North.

Again, in 1852, the Whigs nominated Gen. Scott and the Democrats Gen. Pierce, both of them Northern men, and both professing the same views on slavery. In that contest Massachusetts and Vermont voted along with Kentucky and Tennessee for Gen. Scott, merely because he was the Whig candidate, while South Carolina, Georgia, and many other Southern States voted along with New York, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Michigan, Illinois, and other Northern States, for Gen. Pierce, merely because he was the Democratic candidate.

Once more, in 1856, New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, voted along with most of the Southern States for Mr. Buchanan, while two Northern and two Southern States voted for Mr. Filmore, the Whig candidate, seven of the Northern States having voted for Mr. Fremont.

Thus we see that since 1844, the Democrats never nominated a

Southern citizen as a candidate for the Presidency. Mr. Cass in 1848, Gen. Pierce, in 1852, and Mr. Buchanan in 1856, were all Northern men. These facts prove the mistake of those persons who have endeavored to show that the Southern people had controlled the Government ever since its foundation, and rebelled because they could not again elect a Southern President. The election of 1860 also proves that the South did not secede because of their failure to elect a Democrat. The action of a portion of the Southern Democrats in refusing to vote for Mr. Douglas, was in part the work of secessionists, who had made up their minds to rebel or secede, and in part the work of men who felt anxious to secure greater protection for Southern rights. Very probably Mr. Andrew Johnson, in voting for Mr. Breckinridge rather than Mr. Douglas, was actuated by this principle.

As we have already seen, in spite of all the bitter speeches and offensive conduct of the Northern radicals, yet, up to 1860 the feeling of mutual good will and friendship was general between the two sections, except that of the radicals towards the slaveholders, and that of the extreme pro-slavery men of the South towards the radicals.

The only signs of increasing danger lay in the fact that the radical sentiment continued to increase in the North, as was certainly indicated by the increasing numbers of radical members elected to Congress. Before the radicals had increased in such a manner as to create disturbance in Congress, the general sentiment of the people South as well as North was harmonious towards each other. This harmony was exhibited in the extensive trade and commerce between the two sections. Also in the correspondence and mutual agreement of religious and benevolent societies. There were, in both sections, large numbers of Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Lutherans, and other denominations, who, in traveling from North to South, or *vice versa*, found brethren who extended to them the welcoming hand of fellowship, believing the same doctrines, and bowing to the same Deity together around the same table, commemorating the death of the same Saviour.

Free Masons, Odd-Fellows, and other benevolent societies North

and South, also pledged to each other the same assistance and friendship. The birth-day of our National Independence was celebrated in all parts of the South as well as the North. Yankee Doodle and Hail Columbia were sung and played on the banks of the James, the Congaree, the Alabama, the Tennessee, and the Brazos, with as hearty good will as they were on those of the Susquehannah, the Hudson, the Connecticut, and the Ohio. The Stars and Stripes were as enthusiastically cheered by all Southern people in 1852, '53, '54, and '55, as they were by any portion of the Northern people, and far more so than they were by the anti-slavery radicals of the North and East. We challenge any Northern citizen who traveled in the South during those years, to deny or contradict the assertion. A hymn was published and approved in some parts of the North in 1854, in which occurs these words:

> Tear down the flaunting lie,
> Half-mast the starry flag;
> Insult no sunny sky
> With hate's polluted rag.

Who printed, and published, and approved the language of this hymn? Let their names be remembered with execrations by future generations.

During the Presidential contest of 1860, many distinguished statesmen, both North and South, expressed fears that Mr. Lincoln would be elected, and that as a natural consequence the majority of the Southern people would be so much excited as to favor secession. Their reasons for so believing were these: The people of the South are, from the very influence of climate, more impulsive than those of the North. This was one reason. Another was, that ever since the settlement of English colonists on the continent, the descendants of those colonists have been very tenacious of their rights, or of those privileges which they esteem as rights. Thus, when a British Governor, nearly an hundred years before the American Revolution, refused to allow the Virginians to choose an officer to lead them against the Indians, the people presented themselves with fixed bayonets before the Governor, and compelled him to sign Bacon's commission. Another British Governor was driven out of South Carolina for his acts of petty tyranny. Again, another British Governor was com-

pletely snubbed and foiled by the people of Connecticut nearly an hundred years before the Revolution of '76. Then the conduct of Americans in relation to the British Stamp Act of 1765; that of the Bostonians, the New Yorkers, the Philadelphians, and the people of Baltimore and Charleston in relation to the tax on tea, with many other facts of American History, have established the truth that the American people both North and South will fight for what they regard as their rights. No matter whether the right claimed be a just one or not, if the minds of the mass of the people become satisfied that it is just, then the individual who will not fight for it is universally treated as a coward, or an enemy to the rights of his own section of country. The universal disposition of Americans to fight for their supposed rights, is so generally known that it needs no further proof.

It was well known by many Northern statesmen in 1860, that the election of a President by the radical party would be dangerous to the peace of the country, from the fact that the Southern people were already greatly exasperated in consequence of the previous proceedings of that party, and were fully convinced that the radicals would use every means, both fair and foul, to abolish slavery. But when true Union men in 1860 gave these facts as reasons for voting for Mr. Douglas or Mr. Bell, the radicals made great sport of the idea. Many of them said: "Who cares for the Union. If the South wants to get out of the Union, let her go." They said the South did not pay her share of the national expenses; she was a burden on the North at any rate, and we could get along better without her. Many others said, "No fear of secession, the South can not be kicked out of the Union." Others, again, expressed the wish that the South would rebel so that we might give her a flogging.

On the next day after the certain fact of Mr. Lincoln's election became known in Chicago, in November, 1860, Mr. John Wentworth, editor of a radical paper called the Chicago Democrat, made use of the following language in his editorial remarks: "Now, before Mr. Lincoln's term expires, every slave will be set free, and all we have to regret is that the Democrats have a majority in Congress, and the South will make that fact an excuse

for not seceding, and we shall not have the chance to give her a sound thrashing."

Was not this beautiful language to be used by an editor and leader of a party professing to be more just, more benevolent and upright than any other body of men in the world? Very Christian, indeed! Here we see an editor and leader of that party, who, in order to obtain votes for the Republican ticket had pretended that they had no desire to interfere with slavery in the States, only three days after the election, throwing off the mask, and declaring that the party intended to free every slave in the Union. This publicly declared policy, so openly expressed weeks before secession commenced, shows that the large majority of those who voted for Mr. Lincoln were duped and deceived. The election was an actual fraud upon one-half the voters, as probably one-half of them would have voted for Douglas or Bell if they had known beforehand the real effect of the election.

In the election of 1860, the following was the popular and electoral vote cast for each of the candidates:

Mr. Lincoln, popular vote,	1,846,203	Electoral vote,		180
Douglas, " "	1,564,650	"	"	12
Breckenridge, "	675,782	"	"	72
Bell, " "	580,249	"	"	39
Total,	4,666,884			303

As the whole number of electoral votes in 1860 was 303, so, according to the Constitution, it required 152 electoral votes to elect the President, Mr. Lincoln having 180 was, of course, lawfully elected. The whole popular vote amounted to four millions six hundred and sixty-six thousand eight hundred and eighty-four. Of this vote Mr. Lincoln only received two-fifths, and yet he received 180 electoral votes.

Douglas, Bell, and Breckinridge together, received two million eight hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and eighty-one of the popular vote, and only one hundred and twenty-three electoral votes. So, if Mr. Douglas had been the only candidate besides Mr. Lincoln, and had received all of the two million eight hundred and twenty thousand six hundred and eighty-one votes of

the people, Mr. Lincoln, by receiving one million eight hundred and forty-six thousand two hundred and three votes, would still be elected, because the majority of electoral votes, and not the majority of popular votes, decides the question.

CHAPTER XI.

THE "STIFF-BACKED" MEN.

In the election of 1860, a President was elected, as we have remarked, who did not receive a majority of the votes of the people. And the party which prevailed, although nearly a million votes weaker than the whole number opposed to them, only composed part of the people in one section, for in the slave States Mr. Lincoln only received a few thousand votes, and those nearly all in the State of Missouri.

Mr. Douglas, who received nearly as many votes as Mr. Lincoln, did not obtain the electoral vote of any States except New Jersey and Missouri. He received large numbers of votes in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and other States, but in each of those States Mr. Lincoln received a higher number than Mr. Douglas, and the candidate receiving the highest number, of course receives the electoral vote of that State. Thus Mr. Lincoln, in Illinois, received about 160,000, while Mr. Douglas received only a few over 150,000 in that State. In this manner Mr. Lincoln received the electoral votes of a sufficient number of Northern States to elect him without the vote of any slave-holding State, and without receiving more than two-fifths of the popular vote.

Soon after the result of the election became known the Governor of South Carolina called a State Convention, which met on the 17th of December.

The United States Congress met at Washington on the 3d of December, and as, at that time, universal alarm was felt through-

out the country, almost the first action in both Houses was to make inquiry as to what measures were necessary in order to quiet the agitation and restore harmony between the sections. Petitions signed by vast multitudes of citizens from all parts of the Union were sent to Congress praying for some measure of reconciliation to be speedily adopted. In each House of Congress could be found every shade of opinion. The angry but determined secessionist; the more mild and moderate Southener, anxious for reconciliation, and willing to meet the radicals half way in restoring harmony; the haughty, self-conceited, unbending radical; the more mild, conservative, and half repenting Republican, and the anxious, conciliating, devoted Unionist, were all there. Some of the secessionists admitted that they expected no compromise and did not wish for any. They considered that the South had borne with taunts, insults, and abuse, until forbearance had ceased to be a virtue.

The violent radicals, on the other hand, said they had elected their President Constitutionally, and they would not vote for any measure as a condition of peace or compromise. There were many Southern members who wished and hoped for the passage of some act which would calm the excitement of their constituents, and thus preserve peace and Union. There were, also, a few Republicans who attempted to conciliate, but they were put down and disowned by the majority of their party.

In the debate upon Mr. Buchanan's Message of the 2d December, Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, spoke as follows in the Senate: "As to the general tone of the Message, every body will say that it is eminently patriotic, and I agree with a great deal that is in it; but I think it falls short of stating the case that is now before the country. It is not, for example, merely, that a dangerous man has been elected to the Presidency of these United States. We know that under our complicated system that might very well occur, and he be powerless; but I assert that the new President has been elected because he was known to be a dangerous man. He avows the principle that is known as the 'Irrepressible Conflict.' He declares that it is the purpose of the North to make war upon my section until its social system has

been destroyed, and for that he was taken up and elected. That declaration of war is dangerous, because it has been indorsed by a majority of the voters in the free States in the late election. It is this great, remarkable, and dangerous fact that has filled my section with alarm and dread for the future. Mr. Buchanan says in his Message, that Mr. Lincoln may be powerless by reason of the opposition in Congress now, but that is only a temporary relief. Every body knows that the majority which has borne Mr. Lincoln in the chair, can control all the departments of this Government. Why, sir, five or six of our conservative Senators are compelled to give place to others on the 4th of March. Both the Senators from Indiana, and the Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Douglas,) and other gentlemen, would be beaten by that same majority, if it were not that their terms have time to run. They must, however, be cut down at no distant day. Not only that, but if the House of Representatives is, to some little extent, divided, how long can it continue thus? We all know that New England has presented an unbroken front for some time past, and does any man doubt the same organization that elected Abraham Lincoln can make a clear majority of both Houses of Congress? The efforts of the Abolitionists will be directed to the few doubtful Districts, and they will soon be subjected to their control. So powerful and steady is the current of their progress that it will soon govern the entire North. In this way they will soon control the President, both Houses of Congress, the Supreme Court, and all the officers of the Government. But this is not the worst feature of the case. We are not only to be governed by a sectional domination which does not respect our rights, but by one, the guiding principle of which is hostility to the Southern States. It is that, Mr. President, that has alarmed the country, and it is idle for gentlemen to talk to us about this being done under the forms of the Constitution."

In order to secure definite action in favor of harmony, Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky, introduced a number of resolutions, providing for certain amendments of the Constitution, which he was well convinced, would satisfy the Southern people and restore harmony without violating the original and essential principles of

the Union and Government. On these resolutions, then and now known as the Crittenden Compromise Resolutions, a committee of thirteen was appointed in the Senate, and one of thirty-three in the House of Representatives. But, although these resolutions were warmly supported by a number of Union men from the South, the Hon. Andrew Johnson, and many others, besides all the Democratic members from the North, they were rejected in consequence of the opposition of the radical Republicans. They were put off, postponed, and laid over from time to time by the Republican members. On one occasion, when by previous appointment, the Compromise Resolutions were called up, they were set aside, because the radicals had determined to act on the Pacific Railroad bill.

Mr. Crittenden, on this occasion, spoke as follows: "I can not think, Mr. President, of voting for the Pacific Railroad bill while this other measure is undetermined. It has been said of old that men build as if they never expected to die. We seem to be acting upon that hypothesis; we are proposing to build railroads for future generations, when the very existence of the country is in danger. I can not think of voting for any measure at this time. Build up the Union first, and then talk about building the Pacific Railroad. It seems to me very solemn, trifling before the people, that the Senate should sit here legislating upon the making of railroads for future generations and for a nation, when that nation is trembling upon a point between life and death."

Mr. Wade, of Ohio, one of the "stiff-backed men," made a short speech in which he said: "I have now, for about a week, listened to the complaints of the other side patiently, and with a desire to ascertain what was the particular difficulty under which they were laboring. Many of those who have supposed themselves aggrieved have spoken, but I confess that I am now totally unable to understand precisely what it is of which they complain. If they have fears as to the course that we may hereafter pursue, they are mere apprehensions—a bare suspicion—arising, I fear, out of their unwarrantable prejudices, and nothing else."

Mr. Wade pretended that he never had heard of any thing in the North that was dangerous to the interests of the Southern

people; he pretended to believe that his party had no design against the South, and that some body had been telling lies on the radicals, and misrepresenting them to the Southern people. He seemed to forget entirely the fact that hundreds of violent speeches had been made by radicals on the floor of Congress, aimed directly at irritating Southern members. He seemed to have forgotten that he, himself, only one short year before, had made one of those violent harrangues in the Senate, and had said to the Southern Senators: "If one of your slaves runs away and gets into Ohio, ninety-nine in a hundred of my constituents would rather see him escape than help you catch him."

Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, remarked as follows: "I avow here, I do not know whether or not I shall be sustained by those who usually act with me, if the issue which is presented is that the constitutional will of the public opinion of this country, expressed through the forms of the Constitution, will not be submitted to and war is the alternative, let it come in any form or in any shape."

How strangely similar was this to Mr. Hale's language in the Senate, Feb. 26th, 1856. At that time he had said: "Sir, I hope it will come, and if it comes to blood, let blood come."

In order to understand why it was that so many Republican members of Congress refused to favor any measure of compromise or reconciliation, it must be recollected that they had a plan laid long before. It should not be forgotten that Mr. Seward, in 1850, said, in a speech in the United States Senate, substantially as follows: "You can take your choice, permit the abolition of slavery peaceably and receive compensation for your slaves, or dissolve the Union and bring on war, producing violent but immediate emancipation."

This policy had been determined upon by the radicals for years. They had long ago determined that war with the South was the best way to secure abolition. Very probably none of them supposed that it would require so much blood and expense as it afterwards did, but they felt sure of the result. Therefore, they stood firm and unmoved, pretending to be as innocent as lambs. And to every proposal of concession they said: "Oh, there is nothing to compromise about; we have done nothing to injure the South.

She is the party that is doing wrong; we are perfectly innocent."

They stood in a position very similar to that occupied by a certain blood-thirsty individual towards one of his neighbors. Said he, "I hope he will strike me one of these days. I intend to kill him at any rate; but I want him to strike the first blow. Then I can make it appear an act of self-defense."

During the months of December, 1860, and January, 1861, the States of South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Georgia, and North Carolina, each passed ordinances of secession, and seized most of the forts and arsenals within their limits.

The Legislature of Virginia, about the first of January, 1861, proposed that a Peace Conference should be held, composed of delegates from every State, for the purpose of consulting upon the crisis, and agreeing upon terms of reconciliation. This Conference met at Washington, February 4th. Twenty-one States were represented. Great hopes were entertained by the friends of the Union that this body would recommend a plan that would be acceptable. In relation to this Conference, correspondents in South Carolina wrote as follows: "We look with hope to the movement just announced as having been started in the Virginia Legislature. Virginia will be listened to in spite of all the press can say. Four-fifths of our people will agree to any arrangement that shall guarantee our rights and be acceptable to the other Southern States."

The Peace Conference at its adjournment on the 19th of February, sent to Congress seven propositions to be submitted as amendments to the Constitution, which, if adopted and sanctioned by a two-third vote in each House, would undoubtedly have restored harmony. When they were under consideration, Mr. Crittenden supported them with the hope that they would meet with a better reception than his resolutions. Mr. Baker, of Oregon, a Republican Senator, abandoned the rest of his party so far as to make a speech in favor of the Peace Conference propositions. From his speech we quote the following: "Mr. President, let us be just to those propositions. As a Republican, I give up something when I vote for them; but remember, sir, I am not voting for them now. I am only voting to submit them to the people.

Therefore, at the polls, at last, I shall be governed as an individual citizen by my convictions at the moment, of what the ultimate result of those propositions will be. But I am not voting for that to-day. I am saying, 'People of the United States, I submit it to you; twenty States demand it; the peace of the country require it. There is dissolution in the atmosphere. States have gone off; others threaten.' Now, not what I wish, not what I want, not what I would have, but all that I can get is before me. I know I do no harm. If the people of Oregon do not like it, they can easily reject it. If the people of Pennsylvania will not have it, they can easily throw it aside. If they do not believe there is danger of dissolution; if they prefer dissolution; if they think they can compel fifteen States to come back; or if they think they will not go out, let them reject it. I repeat again, it is their business, not mine. But, sir, whether I vote for it at the polls or not, in voting for it here, it may be said that I give up some of my principles. I am appealed to often. It is said to me, you believed in the Chicago Platform. Suppose I did. Well, this varies from the Chicago Platform. Suppose it does. I stand here to-day, I believe, in the presence of greater events than the making of a President. I stand, as I believe, in the presence of peace and war; and if it were true, that I did violate the Chicago Platform, the Chicago Platform is not a Constitution of the United States to me."

But with all his exertions, Mr. Baker could not induce one of his brother Republicans in the Senate to vote for any compromise whatever. They had their plans laid and only waited for the march of events. Hence, they were determined not to give the people any opportunity for voting on the compromise, lest peace might be preserved, and the favorite project of abolition not succeed.

Mr. Beale, a Republican Representative from New York, said: "Sir, I am opposed to any and all compromises, because they are to be extorted from us by threats of dissolution of the Union if we refuse. I desire to see the strength of this Government tested, and to know whether the Union is a federal rope of sand, to be washed away by every wave of passion, or an indissoluble Government. Also because the sentiments of nine-tenths of the Re-

publicans of the free States are opposed to compromise of principle."

Thus the radical members spoke and acted during this exciting session.

Mr. Douglas, in addressing the Senate on one occasion, remarked as follows: "Sir, I must say in all frankness, that I regard no man as friendly to the Union who is unwilling to enter upon such a system of pacification and compromise as will preserve it. In my opinion, there is a deliberate plot to break up this Union under the pretense of preserving it. In my opinion there are as many disunionists on this floor, and on the floor of the other branch of Congress from the North, as from the South; men who have reasoned themselves into the belief that it is wiser and better to drive the sections into collision to force disunion, and to get up a war, to have blood shed and render reunion impossible, and then make a treaty of peace. I hope I am mistaken in this. I have too much respect for the intelligence of Senators to believe for one moment that they hope to preserve the Union by military force. They know that the use of military force, producing collision and blood-shed, must result in a civil war between fifteen States on one side, and the remainder of the States on the other. How can you avoid this result. You must do one of two things, either settle the difficulty amicably or by the sword. The amicable settlement is a perpetuation of the Union, the use of the sword is war, disunion, and separation now and forever."

On the last day of the session, Mr. Pugh, of Ohio, in a short speech, made the following remarks: "The Crittenden Proposition has been indorsed by the almost unanimous vote of the Legislature of Kentucky. It has been indorsed by the Legislature of the noble old Commonwealth of Virginia. It has been petitioned for by a larger number of voters than any proposition that was ever before Congress. I believe in my heart to-day, that it would carry an overwhelming majority in my State; aye, sir, and in nearly every State of the Union. Before the Senators from Mississippi left this chamber, I heard one of them who now assumes, at least, to be President of the Southern Confederacy, propose to accept and maintain the Union if that proposition could receive the

vote that it ought to receive from the other side of this chamber."

Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, observed, in relation to this statement of Mr. Pugh, that it was true. He thus expressed himself: "The Senator has said that if the Crittenden Proposition could have been passed early in the session, it would have saved all the States except South Carolina. I firmly believe it would. While the Crittenden Proposition was not in accordance with my cherished views, I avowed my readiness to accept it, in order to save the Union if we could unite upon it. No man has labored harder than I have to get it passed. I can confirm the Senator's declaration, that Senator Davis himself, when on the committee of thirteen, was ready at all times to compromise on the Crittenden Proposition. I will go further and say that Mr. Toombs was also."

Mr. Douglas seems to have understood very correctly the intentions of the radicals. During the session of the Peace Conference, a few of the delegates from Northern and Eastern States showed signs of relenting, and of a disposition to avoid bloodshed, whereupon, Mr. Chandler, Republican Senator from Michigan, who had previously advised the Governor of his State not to send any delegates to the Conference, immediately wrote to the Governor to send on the delegates. A part of his letter read in substance as follows: "Send on the delegates. Some of the manufacturing States think that a fight would be awful. My opinion is that this Union will not be worth a rush without a little blood-letting. Send 'stiff-backed men' or none."

Thus the people of the United States, a country in which the majority are supposed to govern, were forced into a war which cost a million of lives and a public debt of three thousand millions of dollars, when it was well known that a majority of the people, if permitted to vote on the Crittenden Compromise, would have maintained the Union without war. But this did not suit the views of the radicals, because it did not free the negroes and make them politically equal with the white race. And this they were determined to do at every cost and every hazard, except their own lives and limbs, and against the wishes of a majority of the people of the United States.

CHAPTER XII.

FIRING ON THE FLAG.

When the seven seceding States had taken possession of nearly all the forts belonging to the Government, a loud outcry was made by multitudes of Republicans because Mr. Buchanan did not call for troops and send reinforcements to the forts. But while thus censuring and abusing the President, they kept out of sight the fact that the regular army, since the Mexican war, had been at no time more than fifteen thousand strong, and all these were required to protect the people of the new Territories against Indian depredations. Economy was the policy of the Government, and the Republicans, in their speeches and campaign documents, accused the Democrats of extravagance and corruption, when the whole expense of the Government was only sixty or seventy millions per year. It is true, Mr. Buchanan might have called for volunteers to suppress the insurrection, but such was the state of feeling in the South that war would only have been precipitated three months sooner than it actually was. Any reflecting mind must have seen that any movement towards coercion would have caused immediate collision and bloodshed, while all true Union men were in hopes of preserving the Union by compromise. But the radicals hoped that Mr. Buchanan would use force, and thus plunge the country into war and make conciliation impossible.

Americans have always admired the course of Wm. Pitt in the British Parliament in 1774. The King at that time had a strong army holding Boston, in order to prevent rebellion. But the very presence of an army in Boston rendered reconciliation

almost impossible. The people were goaded on to resistance by the very threat of coercion. Under these circumstances, Pitt entreated the King and Ministry to withdraw the troops from Boston. And after the war commenced in 1775, Pitt, in one of his speeches said: "If I was an American, as I am an Englishman, I never would lay down my arms while a single British soldier remained in the country, never, *never.*"

Wm. Pitt, Edmund Burke, Charles J. Fox, and other Englishmen, in 1774, knew some thing of the character of the American people. And so, likewise, did the Republican leaders in January, 1861. But those leaders had an object to accomplish, and were afraid they could not accomplish it without war. They said, "If Mr. Buchanan had only been such a man as Jackson, the rebellion would have been nipped in the bud." But they only used this language in order to make it appear that they venerated the memory of one whom most of them had often abused as one of the Southern Oligarchs. Mr. Buchanan's position was far different from that of Gen. Jackson in 1832. Gen. Jackson had only to compel the submission of South Carolina, and at a time when nearly half of her own people were opposed to the acts of her Governor and Legislature. The other Southern States, every one, stood up for the Union and for the Constitution, so that South Carolina stood alone, and her own people also divided, nearly half being for the Union. Then the question was not slavery, but the tariff. Every one who reads Gen. Jackson's Farewell Address is well aware how strongly he condemned the Abolitionists of 1837. It is very probable that if he had been President in 1856, when they were resisting the Fugitive Slave Law, and threatening to rise in arms against the Government, he would have hanged a number of them for treason.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated. In his Inaugural Address he evidently aimed to go as far in using conciliatory language as the warlike temper of his party would possibly permit. In that address he admits that the framers of the Constitution evidently intended to recognize the right of any State to hold slaves and to recover them when they escaped into other States. And on this point he says: "The intention of

the law-giver is the law." He also alludes to the fact that all officers and members of the Government had solemnly sworn to obey and fulfill the Constitution in its very letter.

That he afterwards pursued a course, that in one short month led to the firing on Sumter, need not to be rehearsed. Whether he was beguiled or forced into it by the same kind of "pressure" that he afterwards acknowledged as forcing him to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, will probably never be known. But one thing is certain, the radicals were glad when Sumter was fired upon by the rebels. They saw in that act the very blow which they had so long hoped for. The calling of the seventy-five thousand volunteers followed. Then the defeat of McDowell at Bull Run. If it had been by any means certain that war would restore the Union, then the disunionists of 1856, who became such violent Union men after the capture of Fort Sumter in 1861, might have laid some kind of claim to honesty and sincerity of feelings. But the fact that the final result of the war was altogether uncertain, that the interference of France and England was very probable, and that the Union would, in that event, be broken up forever, renders the manner in which they were willing to risk the life of the Union an unanswerable evidence that they cared nothing for the Union, and every thing for the negro. In less than two years after the war commenced, our Government was forced to humble itself to the arrogant demand of England and give up Mason and Slidell, in order to avoid war with her. And yet more, the Emperor Napoleon planted a monarchy in Mexico, when he knew that he would not dare to attempt it had it not been for the rebellion. It is folly to pretend that we could have fought France and England and conquered the South at the same time.

The defeats which our armies suffered at Bull Run, Great Bethel, Ball's Bluff, and Lexington, Mo., in 1861; at Bull Run, Belmont, Fredericksburg, and the Chickahominy, in 1862; at Chancellorville and Chickamaugua in 1863; and the victories gained by the rebels over Gen. Banks and other officers in 1864, together with the dreadful loss of life at Fort Donelson, Pittsburg Landing, Murfreesborough, Perryville, Pea Ridge, Antietam, South Mountain, Spottsylvania, and the Wilderness, Petersburg and Beaufort,

all go to show that the South came near gaining her independence without being openly aided by France or England, thus rendering it certain that with their assistance she would have been successful. All this the radicals risked knowingly, wilfully, and deliberately, thus proving the extreme intensity of their love for the Union. We might as well profess sincere attachment to a friend, while, at the same time, we are forcing him into a position where he must, in all probability, lose his property and life, while there is no necessity whatever for placing him in that position.

Taking the whole of their conduct into view, from 1831 to 1866, receiving all their crooked paths, then scanning the work in which they are now engaged, we are irresistibly led to the conclusion that these radicals were not only enemies to the Union in 1840 and '44, but they have been so ever since, and are so now, in spite of all their professedly intense devotion to it. In 1861 they said to their neighbors, "Go fight for the Union; those wicked rebels will destroy it if you do not; you need not fight to free the negroes, but fight for the Union."

In 1862 they said the negroes must be free at all hazards. "It is military necessity; we cannot save the Union unless we proclaim the negroes free. God will not assist us in this war unless we free the negroes." But the rebels defeated our armies after the Emancipation Proclamation was issued. So they said, "We must make soldiers out of the negroes; then we can have an excuse for making them voters. And if the people should object to making them voters, then we can work on their sympathies by talking of the cruelty of refusing the privileges of citizens to four millions of loyal people who have hazarded their lives on the bloody battle-field for the glorious Union framed by our fathers." But how are they to compel people who do not wish to vote along with negroes to submit to it? Congress has no power to control the States in this matter, and the people of the States will object. "That is easily arranged," says the radical. "We can alter the Constitution, and give Congress power to compel the people of all the States to allow negro suffrage. We need not give the people an opportunity of voting on the question. If we should, our projects will be defeated. Therefore, let the State Legislatures

be managed to have the amendments adopted without submitting it to the people. We have managed to secure emancipation without any vote of the people, and now for negro-equality whether the people will or no."

For various purposes the radicals have now offered two or three dozen amendments to the Constitution, by which the original system of our Government will be entirely changed; the rights of States will be, in a great measure, destroyed. The most probable result will be that, in the midst of the general overturning that these amendments will cause, a new source of difficulty will be found, East, West, North, or South, and the country will again be involved in war, until we shall be compelled to see the Union divided, or else return to the old principles of State Rights as held by our fathers. The radical leaders pretend to believe that negro suffrage will be the certain means of preserving the Union. They argue, the Southern people are still rebels at heart, and will not yield willing obedience to the laws, and, therefore, the white men of the South ought to be deprived of the right of voting, while the negroes are permitted to enjoy it as the only loyal citizens. Thus the radical continues to work, preach, and legislate for the exclusive benefit of negroes, striving to render them the principle objects of Congressional legislation. From their present course a foreigner might be led to suppose that our Government was made for the special benefit of negroes, and the interests of the white race are only secondary objects. And all this legislation, they say, is necessary for the preservation of the Union. This sort of an excuse may deceive many true Union men, but will not frighten the majority of American citizens.

A desire to punish rebels and traitors is also another pretense. If we desire to prevent emigration to the South, and to discourage free intercourse between the North and South, undoubtedly one of the most feasible means of doing so is to compel the Southern people to receive the negro as their equals. The effect of such compulsion will generally be to place the votes of the unlettered mass of blacks under the control of their employers and of such white men as see proper to use them. Of course the Northern radicals can not spare from home such a multitude of agents

as would be necessary to oversee the votes of the negroes at elections, and the consequent effects of negro suffrage will not be dangerous except where it leads to an opposition of races or colors. That the individuals who took up arms and fought against the authority of the United States were technically guilty of treason against the Government, but few persons will deny. Consequently, if it were possible to go through the formalities of publicly trying and convicting by due process of law, several millions of individuals, male and female, giving to each a separate and fair trial by jury, probably two-thirds of the adult population of the South would be hanged. And so might George Washington, and two-thirds of the adult population of North America have been legally executed if they had unhappily been conquered by Great Britain. Our radicals, however, generally seem to wish for a kind of wholesale trial, without legal Judges or juries, and a wholesale mode of punishment, by which no distinction is made between innocent and guilty. The old maxim of law, that "every person is supposed innocent until he is proved guilty," they wish to reverse, and punish every person who can not prove himself innocent in heart as well as conduct.

The secessionists saw a President elected who had proclaimed himself in favor of the extinction of slavery without the consent of the people. They saw that by his choice, Mr. Seward, who had for ten years previously avowed the design of compelling emancipation either peaceably or by violence, was chosen as Secretary of State, the head of the Cabinet. The secessionists rebelled—they levied war against the Government, and being conquered, they are liable to be punished according to law, if tried and convicted under the Constitutional laws of Congress. They can produce no article of the Constitution that will excuse them from the legal penalties.

CHAPTER XIII.

FORTS WARREN AND LAFAYETTE.

When the war commenced there were multitudes of persons in many parts of the Union who conscientiously believed that, although the rebellion was in itself unjustifiable, hasty, and without sufficient cause, yet that from the fact that the Northern States, many of them, had also acted unjustifiably towards the South, we, as brethren of one great nation, ought not to use military force, but to restore the Union by compromise. They argued that it was unjust and tyranical to use military force in compelling one section of the Union to yield obedience to the commands and ordinances established by the people of another section.

Thus argued Horace Greeley in November, 1860. In the Tribune he argued as follows: "We can not see why fifteen States of the Union have not the same right to secede from this Government in 1860, that thirteen States had for seceding from the British Government in 1776."

Again, Mr. Greeley said: "We hope never to live in a Union one-half of which is pinned to the other by bayonets."

A speech made by Mr. Lincoln in Congress in 1848, also has these words: "Any people any where, who are able, have the right to throw off the Government under which they live, and set up a new one that suits them better. And any portion of any people have the right to revolutionize and make their own so much of the country as they can."

Such speeches as these, together with hundreds of others made in the North at various times, undoubtedly produced great influ-

ence in leading the Southern people to believe that even the radicals would be willing to let the South go, rather than commence war to force them to remain in the Union. Many Northern people, therefore, argued that it was wrong to use military force in view of all the circumstances of our history. Now, although Mr. Greeley and other Republicans, had freely used such arguments, yet, when Democrats spoke in the same manner, they were universally branded as secessionists, traitors, and rebel-sympathizers. A universal howl was raised against them by the radicals, and large numbers of Democrats in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, New Jersey, and other States were seized by professed detectives and conveyed in the most hurried manner to military prisons. In very many of these instances the persons who were imprisoned were not, and never had been violent opposers of the war, but were arrested merely to gratify the malice or revenge of political opponents.

Ex-President Pierce, of New Hampshire, was at one time threatened with arrest, but the threat was not executed. In all cases it was claimed by the officers who made the arrests, that they had their orders from the President. That these arrests were in all cases unjust, illegal and arbitrary, is evident from the following considerations:

It is a well-known principle of the Constitution that "no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Again, the Constitution provides that all persons accused of crime, shall have the right of a speedy trial by an impartial jury of the State and District in which the supposed crime shall have been committed, and to have the aid of counsel for his defense, and process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf. The Constitution was intended to protect the rights of individuals against arbitrary power. No person, not even the President, should have power to oppress his political opponent under any pretext. Many persons, who were not proved to have uttered a single word in favor of the rebels, nor against the Administration, were ruined in property and health by confinement in military prisons, where they were treated like convicts who had been guilty of high crimes. If the President or-

dered their arrests, he acted unjustly, because he, in most cases, had no personal knowledge of the individuals arrested, nor of their character or conduct, and thus lent himself as a tool in the hands of political persecutors, and that without any lawful authority for giving such orders. Many radicals attempted to justify these arrests by asserting that, under the circumstances, as the President had a right to suspend the privilege of *habeas corpus*, therefore, he did not violate the Constitution in ordering these arrests. But every student of the Constitution is aware that the suspension of the *habeas corpus* privilege does not deprive any citizen of his right to a speedy, public, and impartial trial. The suspension of *habeas corpus* merely prevents the person arrested from being taken out of the custody of the officers or persons who are detaining him. It does not, in the least, deprive him of the Constitutional right to a speedy, public, and impartial trial. Therefore, these acts of the President were as clearly unauthorized as would have been the act of hanging men without any trial. These arrests were not made by authority of any law of Congress, because, although Congress made a law to punish persons for discouraging enlistments, that same law required that such persons should be tried by the civil courts, and by the usual process of indictment and trial within the State and district where the the crime was committed. But these persons who were arrested by order of the President, carried away from their own States and thrust into military prisons, were not arrested nor imprisoned by any law whatever, but on the contrary, in utter violation of all law. If they had been accused as spies, or as aiders and abettors of the rebels, then they should have been tried as such, and if legally convicted, they should have been legally punished.

If the President of the United States should commit a wilful murder, the law, if properly enforced, would try him and execute him in the same manner as any other citizen. His office does not give him any lawful protection against the law itself. If he commits a robbery, rape, or theft, the law does not excuse him from punishment. Why should he be excused if he is guilty of false imprisonment? In every State the person who imprisons another without just cause, when the act is proved against him,

no matter whether he be an officer or not, he is liable for all damages which the injured person has suffered in person or property or character by such imprisonment. But our radicals, when informed of these unlawful arrests, said, "Good enough for them. There ought to be twice as many arrested. They are all traitors and ought to be imprisoned or hanged."

Stop a moment, Mr. Radical, how do you know these men are traitors? Did you see each of them and hear all the evidence from disinterested witnesses against them? "Oh, no; but I know the Government would not arrest them and send them to prison without good cause." Then, of course, my friend, if any future President should, hereafter, cause you to be taken from your family and confined in a military prison, on bread and water, treated like a convicted criminal, all your friends and neighbors will be justified in supposing that the Government had good cause for the act, and is not bound to give any account of the cause or reason for such treatment. You justify the President in violating the laws of his country. You thereby, virtually say, the President is above the law, and if he chooses, he may go through the streets and shoot down any personal enemy that he meets, and yet be justifiable or excusable from legal punishment. "Yes, but the President is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, and in time of rebellion or war, he has more authority than in time of peace." This is altogether a wrong idea. The President has no authority, either in war or peace, except that which the Constitution gives him. He is liable to impeachment for violating the Constitution. The Constitution created the office of President; declares how he shall be elected, and what his duty shall be. Except in the Constitutional performance of his duties, he is no more than a private citizen. He has no more authority to act as a constable or a Judge, than any common laborer would have. The President can not make a law upon any subject. If he issues a proclamation declaring that a citizen, living peaceably at his home, shall be forced into the army, or shall surrender his property, unless Congress has authorized him so to do, the proclamation is an act of violent, tyrannical, and despotic usurpation, far greater than that of King George and his Ministers in taxing

the American people. And if such proclamation should be authorized by Congress, it would still be an usurpation, unless the act should be authorized by the Constitution itself.

Do you ask why? I answer, that clause of the Constitution which says: "All powers not delegated to the United States are reserved to the States or people of the States," positively forbids the assumption of such powers.

The people of the United States never gave to any person any authority whatever, except that which the Constitution confers. A minority of the people might wish or desire to give to Congress other powers so long as their party has a majority in that body, or to give the President more power if he is one of their party, but the Constitution made by our fathers does not allow such usurpation. A minority of the people might wish to give Congress power to establish a National Church if they thought Congress would prefer the Presbyterian Church; but if they supposed Congress would prefer the Methodist Church, then they would not favor the idea. Again, a minority might wish to give Congress that power if they supposed Congress would favor the Episcopalian Church, but not otherwise. The Constitution made by our fathers wisely says: "Congress shall make no law concerning religion." A minority of the people have given Congress power to confer upon the negroes privileges equal with the white race. It is not the act of the majority, and fearing that if left to an election it might fail, the radicals cunningly managed to go through certain forms without any vote of the people. The majority of the people will condemn the act.

CHAPTER XIV.

MASSACHUSETTS AND SOUTH CAROLINA.

When our fathers formed the Union under the Constitution in 1787, they took great pains to inform themselves in relation to the history of former Republics, in order that in this Government the errors of Ancient Republics might be avoided. They searched the histories of the Greek, Roman, Italian, and Swiss Republics with the design of imitating the best, and avoiding the worse traits of all those models. They traced with particular care the rise, progress, and final overthrow of the Grecian and Roman Democracies. They saw and understood the truth that the Greeks, after maintaining a Republican Government for several hundred years, at last became divided by sectional jealousies, and fought among themselves for mastery over each other, until, finally, they were compelled to surrender their claim of popular liberty and submit to a monarchy; and in the end, their children were conquered by foreign armies, and remained for long ages the slaves of other nations.

Our fathers hoped that their children might be sufficiently intelligent to keep ever in view and ever on their guard against the influences of violent party spirit, and above all, against the influence of sectional jealousy, hatred, and bigotry. They hoped that the superior excellence of the American Constitution and form of Government would, at all times, be so manifest to their posterity, that none of the American people could at any time be so dissatisfied with it as to desire any great changes in its principles. But the history of the past fifty years has proven that the hopes

of our fathers were utterly fallacious. Notwithstanding the prosperity and happiness which we have experienced, we have continually been beset by demagogues who found fault with our Government, and by people who insisted on changing or amending something which did not precisely agree with their prejudices. The two States that have been most active and noisy in endeavoring to change or destroy our excellent Government are Massachusetts and South Carolina. Since 1832 up to 1865, South Carolina has been, in some degree, disaffected. In the year 1832, the Legislature of South Carolina attempted to nullify a law of Congress concerning the tariff of duties on imported goods. The objection, or reason which they gave for nullification was, that the tariff was made for the benefit of Eastern manufacturers, and intended to prevent the agricultural States from purchasing foreign goods, thus operating to enrich the manufacturers at the expense of the agriculturalists. Gen. Jackson, although himself a Southern man, a planter, and a Democrat, insisted that South Carolina should obey the laws of the Union. And all the other States upheld and supported him in his decision. The people of South Carolina, in view of the fact that they must certainly be overpowered by the military force of the Government, relinquished nullification and submitted to the law. But from that time forth her politicians never loved the Union. They labored to produce and excite prejudices against the North, and especially against New England, and to prepare the Southern people for separation from the Union. They undoubtedly rejoiced at the insults and injuries heaped upon the Southern people by Northern Abolitionists, because they saw that the final result would be war between the sections unless a peaceable separation occurred. Thus South Carlina and Massachusetts, from 1832 to 1860, were working together for the same cause and for the same purpose of dissolution.

Previous to 1832, South Carolina never manifested the sectional spirit. She always exhibited the Union feeling and spirit. In 1788 she gave almost a unanimous vote for the Constitution and the Union, while Massachusetts was almost equally divided, casting nearly as many votes against the Constitution as she did for it. If the reader doubts the truth of this assertion, he can easily

satisfy his doubts by a peep at history. If other histories are not at hand, or if silent, let him procure Judge Story's work on the Constitution, which will remove all doubts.

South Carolina entered boldly into the Revolution of 1775. Her Marion, Sumter, and Moultrie, with many others, fought most gallantly for liberty, and her patriotic Governor Hayne died in an English prison, a martyr to the American cause. It is true, that there were Tories in South Carolina during the war of Independence. And so there were in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and nearly all the States. When the British were driven out of Boston by Washington's force in 1775, no less than 1,500 families of New England Tories left Boston with Gen. Gage. Perhaps my reader may doubt this assertion, but the history of the Revolution will prove it. And it will also prove that when the Massachusetts Legislature, in 1774, were considering whether they should attempt to resist British aggression, they were so much frightened that the members would have dispersed without voting on the question if Samuel Adams and Warren, who afterwards fell at Bunker Hill, had not locked the doors, secreted the keys, and thus for the time prevented the members from escaping. No doubt their fears of the gallows were very powerful, and if they had not been greatly sustained and assisted by the other Colonies, their patriotism would have been easily repressed.

The Independence of the American people was acknowledged by Great Britain in 1783. The first armed rebellion within our Union after that period, occurred in Massachusetts in 1786, and was called "Shay's Rebellion." The second rebellion occurred in Pennsylvania in 1794, and was called the "Whisky Insurrection." Then again Massachusetts threatened to rebel in 1814, and often from that time up to 1860, used rebellious language against the government of the Union. From all these circumstances it appears evident that the hatred expressed by Massachusetts writers and speakers against South Carolina, is not caused by an holy hatred or horror of rebellion itself, but by some other principle that lies deep within the hearts of Massachusetts people. It is high time that the people of the other States should use such means as

will effectually discourage the exhibition of such horribly malignant sectional hatred by one section of the Union towards the other. South Carolina has now been humbled in the dust. She has accepted the result of the war with all its consequences. Her people no longer profess any hostility against the Union, or any of its people. The past history and present attitude of Massachusetts compels us to believe that her people are incorrigibly bigoted, intolerant, and persecuting in their disposition towards all who differ from them in religion, politics, and morals, and that those who at at any time agree with them, must change their opinion and conduct when they change, or else make up their minds to suffer all the abuse and denunciation that can be invented by bigotry itself.

The Hon. Daniel Webster once said in a public address to the people of Boston: "You have conquered an ungenial clime, you have conquered a sterile soil, you have conquered the winds and elements of the ocean, you have conquered most of the elements of nature, but you must learn to conquer your unreasonable prejudices."

It is a most singular fact, that while the Massachusetts people have continually and universally condemned and denounced John C. Calhoun for plotting the overthrow of the Union, they have upheld and glorified Garrison, Phillips, and John Brown, in doing precisely the same thing. It is perfectly impossible for a candid mind to discover any difference in guilt betwixt the South Carolina traitor and the Massachusetts traitor.

On the 14th of March, 1862, after the bloody battles of Bull Run, Belmont, and Ball's Bluff had proved that the restoration of the Union was very doubtful, Mr. Wendell Phillips delivered an address in Washington City in which he said: "I have labored nineteen years to take nineteen States out of the Union, and if I have spent any nineteen years to the satisfaction of my Puritan conscience, it was those nineteen years. The child of six generations of Puritans, I was taught at a mother's knee to love purity before peace. And when Daniel Webster taught me that the Union meant making white men hypocrites and black men slaves; that it meant Lynch law in the Carolinas and mob law in Massa-

chusetts; that it meant lies in the pulpit, and gags in the Senate; when I was told that the cementing of the Union was returning slaves to their masters, in the name of the God I loved and had been taught to honor, I cursed the Constitution and the Union, and endeavored to break it; and thank God it is broken."

What a straight forward, honest, upright, sincere Puritan Mr. Phillips is! How faithful to the God he loves and how truthful in representing the views of Daniel Webster! He might with equal sincerity represent that Daniel Webster taught him to believe that the Union meant the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion, or the Methodist, or Presbyterian, or any other system of religion. He might with equal sincerity represent Mr. Webster as teaching him that the Union meant murder, robbery, arson, rape, theft, and blasphemy because the Constitution did not allow Congress to pass laws against those crimes. His assertion concerning Mr. Webster would have been as truthful, honest and sincere in this case as it was in relation to slavery. The State of Massachusetts at this very day honors Wendell Phillips, Garrison, and John Brown more than she honors Daniel Webster or Rufus Choate. She this day honors every man who breathes forth curses and anathemas against the people of the South, more than she honors any man who prays for the restoration of universal peace, friendship and good will.

As a further illustration of the spirit which pervades her people in general, we will introduce a remark of Senator Wade, of Ohio, who although a Senator in Congress from Ohio, yet represents Massachusetts better than he does his own State, just as Senators Chandler, Trumbull, and others represent Massachusetts better than they do their own States. On the 13th of February, 1866, in the course of a debate on the re-admission of Southern Senators and Representatives, Senator Henderson asked Senator Wade if South Carolina had not a Republican Government when the Union was first formed. Senator Wade replied, "No, she had not." "Then our fathers must have lied," said Senator Henderson. To which Senator Wade replied, "Our fathers were mistaken, that is all."

This little colloquy been two Senators on the floor of Congress furnishes the mind with a grave subject of reflection.

The radicals say than when the Union was formed, Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Hancock, the Adamses, and all our fathers were mistaken in supposing that South Carolina had a Republican government. And why? Because she tolerated slavery. Of course, then, neither New York, Pennsylvania, nor any other State, had a real Republican Government, not even Massachusetts; for, although she had freed her slaves, yet she did not allow negroes to vote or hold office. By the same rule there is no State yet which has a real Republican government, for not one of them allows universal suffrage. Even Massachusetts allows none to vote except men who can read, and rejects all the women whether they can read or not. Yes, all our fathers were mistaken, says the radical. They set up a government and called it a Republic, and their children have lived under it upwards of eighty years, enjoying the best government that the sun ever shone upon, and now radical Senators and Representatives in Congress stand up in those Halls and gravely tell us that our fathers were mistaken; that the governments which they recognized as Republican were not Republican; that Washington and Franklin did not know what a Republic was, but Mr. Wade does.

How beautifully honest, sincere, and consistent is the record of these radicals! Ten years ago, when they in 1856 nominated Col. Fremont for the Presidency, they assured us that their grand object was to bring the government back to the principles of our fathers. In 1861 and 1862 they filled the air with denunciations against those who had rebelled against the best government in the world, and now they solemnly assure us that this government, made by our fathers, was not republican; that it was not the best government in the world, and that our fathers were entirely mistaken. But this is not all. During the past ten years they have constantly endeavored to lead the multitude to believe that the Democratic party, which had successfully administered the government for nearly fifty years, had never conducted it in accordance with the principles of its founders, but had forsaken those principles, and adopted a course unknown to our fathers, changing the policy of the government from its original design. But the assertion to-day that our fathers were mistaken when they

framed the Union and did not understand the nature of a republican government so well as B. F. Wade and Charles Sumner do, is a clear admission that the Democratic party has always administered the government in accordance with the principles of its fathers and founders, and that the radicals, in pretending to be so anxious for returning to the principles of the fathers, were acting hypocritically and with the most dishonest motives. Their aim has been, and still is to destroy the government made by our fathers, to amend, change, and alter the Constitution which has so long protected us, and to continue the work of destruction regardless of all the untold and incalculable evils and miseries which must ensue from an unstable, unsteady, and unreliable system of govment.

CHAPTER XV.

AMERICAN REBELS OF 1861.

Taking Christianity as the great standard of human action, resistance or rebellion against any existing government is never justifiable under any circumstances. "Let every soul be obedient to the higher power, to the king as supreme, and to the governors sent by him," is the unqualified command of Paul, the most able of all the expounders of Christian duty. But this command has not been generally observed by Christian nations. The motto of very many Christians has been, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God." And in no other country has this sentiment been so generally approved as in ours.

William Tell led the Swiss in their rebellion against the Austrian government, threw off the Austrian yoke, and laid the foundations of the Swiss Republic. No American has ever read the story of Tell's exploits and victories without a feeling of admiration, sympathy, and approbation. An American takes the Swiss side of the story, and never troubles himself to inquire whether the Austrian side can justify itself; or, in other words, whether the Swiss rebels had a good and sufficient cause for rebellion, but gives his verdict instantly on the Swiss side. The feeling of his heart is precisely this: if the Swiss people did not wish to be governed by the Austrians they were justified in rebelling against the government. That is precisely the American idea as held out in the Declaration of Independence.

When the Polanders, in 1831, rebelled against the Russian government, every American heart beat in unison with the coun-

countrymen of Kosciusko and Polaski. And when the brave and patriotic Poles were overpowered, when their dead bodies covered the battle-fields, when the rebellion was crushed, and the iron hand of Russian despotism once more resumed its sway over Warsaw, no American, young or old, who had ever read of the aid given by Polanders to our own country in her struggle for liberty, could avoid wishing that the brave and gallant Poles had succeeded in their efforts.

So when Mexico, Peru, and Chili rebelled against the Spanish government from 1820 to 1825, the whole American people sympathized with them in their struggle, and many Americans gave them material aid. They did not stop to inquire whether the Spanish government was very oppressive, or whether those South American rebels had any special causes for complaint against Spain. All that they knew on the subject was that the Mexicans and South Americans were fighting for independence, and that the King of Spain had attempted to put down the rebellion by force. Yet we could not deny that in our own struggle of 1776 against Great Britain, Spain had been one of the first powers that recognized our government, and had given us considerable aid in that revolution.

When the Greeks rebelled against the Turkish government, and when Turkey used her whole power to crush the rebels, was there one American who wished that Turkey might succeed in putting down those rebels? Not one. Was there one American who even listened to the Turkish side of the story, in order to ascertain whether they accused the Greeks of unprovoked rebellion? Not one. Every American, whether male or female, old or young, who heard of the struggle, sympathized with the Greeks.

Then when the Hungarians rebelled against Austria, in 1848, and when Austria, by the assistance of Russian bayonets, overpowered and crushed the Hungarians; when Kossuth, the rebel leader, was compelled to fly his country, what American voice refused to welcome Kossuth? Here, on American soil, he was welcomed and cheered from one end of the country to the other. Did any American care whether Austria had violated the rights of the Hungarian people or not? Not one. It was enough for us that

the Hungarians desired to throw off the Austrian yoke, and to be an independent nation. We did not care whether ambitious demagogues had led them into rebellion, or whether it was a spontaneous uprising of the people. To us it was all the same. We honor William Tell because he was a rebel. So also we honor Marco Bozzaris, Simon Bolivar, and Louis Kossuth.

Does any American feel that Robert Emmet, the Irish rebel of '98, was any the less a gentleman and a Christian, merely because he was a rebel? Not at all. Does any American feel that Washington, Greene, Morgan, Putnam, Warren, Lee, Marion, Sumter, and Lincoln, of our own glorious Revolution, were any less than great and good men, merely because they were rebels against the government of Great Britain, their lawful sovereign and king? No. We honor them because they were rebels. We honor them although we know that the government under which they lived declared them traitors and rebels in arms against a good government. It is true, we have been educated to believe that they had good cause for rebellion. And it is also true that the British government and people denied the whole story, and declared that the rebellion was gotten up and the people led into it by ambitious politicians, who desired to raise themselves to power. Of course William Pitt and a few others, the copperheads of those days, sympathized with the American rebels, but the mass of the nation supported the government.

Our Declaration of Independence says when a government becomes destructive of the rights of the people, then it becomes the duty of the people to alter or abolish it. Now, as the government will always insist that it has not become destructive of those rights, who shall judge as to when rebellion is justifiable, and when it is not? Of course the Declaration means that the people themselves must be the judges. And when that Declaration was signed in 1776, there were multitudes of people in the colonies who honestly, sincerely, and conscientiously believed that the rebellion was wrong, unprovoked, and unjustifiable. Perhaps no people on earth were more sincere and honest in their opinions than were the Tory Quakers of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. But there were other Tories in all the colonies, many of them

good, pious, and religious men, who steadfastly adhered to the king, and remained loyal, who were also, in many cases, persecuted, imprisoned, and their property confiscated by their countrymen, because they would not join the rebels. And when the Congress at Philadelphia issued the Declaration of Independence, which was precisely the same as an ordinance of secession, did they submit it to the vote of the people in order that the people might for themselves decide whether they would claim independence or not? No, indeed. The Congress assumed all the power and responsibility of declaring the bonds of union with Great Britain dissolved.

Taking into view all these undeniable facts, as the American people usually did until 1861, the name "rebel" never was by them considered by any means disgraceful or dishonorable. Americans rather felt disposed to honor and admire those who acquired the name of "rebel." The word "traitor" was applied to Benedict Arnold by us, because he saw fit to quit the rebels and return to his allegiance to his king and government. It was also applied as an offensive epithet to Aaron Burr, and to Calhoun, besides being frequently used in political tirades against those who changed their politics and joined the opposite party.

Well, we have now in our country several millions of people who have been rebels against our government. They have been conquered after a long series of bloody battles, most of them returning to their homes and peaceable employments. The very same leaders of the very same party that ten years ago threatened to rebel against the government and secede from the Union, now insist that all rebels ought to be disfranchised forever. A part of them still go farther and insist that all the higher officers should be executed on the gallows. Confiscation of all the property of every rebel is also advocated by some of the extreme radicals.

It is very observable that those Northern men, who, from 1840 to 1860, were the most violent and bold in their threats of secession and rebellion, are now in favor of the most severe measures against Southern rebels. This may be accounted for in a manner similar to that of the reformed rake, who, on becoming a deacon

of the church, was found to be always in favor of the strictest measures and most severe punishments against fornication and adultery. It would seem evident that in view of the fact that in former years, all the American people, from 1783 up to 1860, did encourage rebellion and revolution amongst the people of other countries, and did always honor those who boldly attempted revolution; and in view of the fact that so many of the leading radicals have in previous years set the example of writing and speaking against the Union, and thus rendering the idea of secession and rebellien less horrible and less criminal than it otherwise would have appeared, therefore, the sentiment of the whole nation should be opposed to the whole plan of proscription, confiscation, and disfranchisement.

The individual who first attempts to render the minds of others familiar with the idea of murder and treason; who uses language justifying these crimes, and implying that he himself is intending on certain conditions to commit them, and thus makes them appear no crimes, so that others are led or influenced to commit them, is certainly very little better than the persons who actually do commit them, and if he afterwards commences calling for vengeance without mercy upon those who have thus been led into crime, he deserves to be reminded that his own former course and his hypocrisy would be sooner forgotten and forgiven if he should remain silent on the question of treason.

In addition to the already lengthy list of this class of persons, we place the name of William Dennison, of Ohio. When nominated by the Republican party as its candidate for Governor in 1859, he made a speech from which we extract the following paragraph: "If I am elected Governor of Ohio (and I expect to be I will not permit another fugitive slave to be carrried out of the State, even if it shall be necessary to employ the military to prevent it, so help me God."

Mr. Dennison was elected by a large majority. In 1861 he and the men who voted for him, pretended to be completely shocked and horrified at the wickedness of the Southern people, who, becoming accustomed to hear nullification, secession, and rebellion spoken of by Republicans as perfectly right and just, ac-

tually did rebel. Such men deserve to be reminded of their own faults every day in the week, so long as they continue to urge the proscription, confiscation, and disfranchisement of rebels

The reader should not infer from any of these remarks that the author of this work approves or justifies the late rebellion. The acts and words of all these Northern fanatics did not fully justify it. Nothing short of an actual attempt by Mr. Lincoln or a radical Congress to deprive the Southern people of their Constitutional rights, would have justified an appeal to arms. When Mr. Lincoln was elected his party could not command a majority in either House of Congress. The Southern Senators and Representatives, by retaining their seats, might have compelled him to choose for his Cabinet the most conservative men of his party, or else to choose Democrats. Mr. Lincoln could have done nothing without a majority in Congress. A reaction in public sentiment might have forever prevented the radicals from interfering with Southern rights. And if the radicals had finally succeeded in gaining a majority in both Houses of Congress, and then attempted to trample on Southern rights, there would have been such a justification as would have drawn large numbers of Northern and Western men into the Southern ranks.

Most undoubtedly it would have been far better for the nation if the Southern people had listened to the advice of such men as John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, Bailie Payton of Mississippi, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, and Samuel Houston of Texas, instead of following such men as William L. Yancey and Barnwell Rhett.

Again, it is hoped that no reader will infer that the author seeks to cast discredit upon those men who risked their lives and limbs in fighting for the Union. When the regularly constituted authorities of the nation call upon its citizens to fight for their government, it certainly must be right for those citizens to obey the call. There may be different opinions as to whether the Administration has done all its duty in order to avoid war, and different opinions as to whether our government is altogether justified in its course towards the public enemy, and those opinions ought to be freely expressed.

But it cannot be expected that the great mass of the people, merchants, mechanics, farmers, laborers, physicians, and clergymen, are at all times so well posted that they are fully prepared to decide questions concerning the most intricate affairs of the government. Although it is perfectly proper and right that the people should be thus posted, yet we know that so generally are the great mass engaged in the struggle for bread or for property, that but few of them can be qualified to decide a dispute between their own government and any other power. Therefore, when our government is involved in a war, whether in a just cause or not, it will always be found that the majority of the people will sustain the government so long as the war lasts. Under the Constitution Mr. Lincoln could not avoid calling out the militia to enforce the laws of the Union. The war followed as a consequence, inevitable under the circumstances, and the men who took up arms to sustain the government, only fulfilled their obligations to that government.

The writer of this work will here remark that in its publication he has two objects in view:

First. For his own gratification he desires to see these "Facts" placed upon paper within as small a compass as possible.

Second. He desires to contribute his mite towards giving an immortality of infamy to those persons who have by falsehood, hypocrisy, and misrepresentation, produced a war in which life-long friends, and even sons of the same parents have imbrued their hands in each other's blood, each one believing himself to be right.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION MADE IN 1778.

(*A True Copy.*)

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union, between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE I.

The style of this Confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ARTICLE II.

Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III.

The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV.

The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this Union,

the free inhabitants of each of these States, paupers, vagabonds, or fugitives from justice excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other State; and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided, that such restriction shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided, also, that no imposition, duties, or restrictions shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

If any person guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, on demand of the Governor or Executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offense.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these States to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE V.

For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the Legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members, and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years, nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emoluments of any kind.

Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the

States, and while they act as members of the committee of the States.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonment, during the time of their going to and from and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE V.

No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person, holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations or treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defense of such State or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State in time of peace, except such number only, as in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defense of such

State; but every State shall keep a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ship or vessel of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof against whom war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled, shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE VII.

When land forces are raised by any State for the common defense, all officers of or under the rank of Colonel, shall be appointed by the Legislature of each State respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII.

All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defense, or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to, or surveyed for, any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall,

from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the Legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX.

The United States in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article: Of sending and receiving embassadors: Entering into treaties and alliances; provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatever: Of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes, taken by land or naval forces, in the service of the United States, shall be divided or appropriated: Of granting letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace: Appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies, committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining, finally, appeals in all cases of captures; provided, that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort, on appeal, in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise, between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever, which authority shall always be exercised in the following manner: Whenever the legislative or executive authority, or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given, by order of Congress, to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges, to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they cannot

agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons, each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen, and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot, and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges who shall hear the cause shall agree in the determination. And if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the Secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing, and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive. And if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall, nevertheless, proceed to pronounce judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment, or sentence, and proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress, for the security of the parties concerned: Provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State, where the cause shall be tried, 'well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward:' Provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private rights of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdictions as they may respect such lands and the States which passed such grants, are adjusted, the said grants, or either of them, being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near

as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respesting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States: Fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States: Regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the States; provided, that the legislative right of any State within its own limits be not infringed or violated: Establishing and regulating post-offices from one State to another, throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office: Appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers: Appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States: Making rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee, to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated A Comittee of the States, and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for the managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction: To appoint one of their number to preside; provided, that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three year. To ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses: To borrow money, or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted: To build and equip a navy: To agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions upon each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each State shall ap-

point the regimental officers, raise the men and clothe, arm, and equip them in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled: but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than its quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number cannot be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared: and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped shall march to the place appointed and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defense and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a Commander-in-Chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same, nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment re-

quire secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State on any question, shall be entered on the journal when it is desired by any delegate, and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

ARTICLE X.

The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided, that no power be delegated to the said Committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE XI.

Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to all the advantages of, this Union. But no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ARTICLE XII.

All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted, by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof, the said United States, and the public faith, are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII.

Every State shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this Confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual. Nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislatures of every State.

And whereas, it has pleased the great Governor of the World to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union:

KNOW YE, That we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully ratify and confirm each and every of said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by the said Confederation, are submitted to them, and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the Union shall be perpetual.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONSTITUTION MADE BY OUR FATHERS.

A True Copy.

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.

1. All Legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2.

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined

by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3.

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4.

1. The times, places, and manner, of holding elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof: but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5.

1. Each House shall be judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications, of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and, from time to time, publish the same, excepting such parts as may,

in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House, on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6.

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to, and returning from, the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person, holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7.

1. All Bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill, which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on the journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be deter-

mined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8.

The Congress shall have power,

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defense and general welfare, of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies, committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

13. To provide and maintain a navy:

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square,) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places, purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—And

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

SECTION 9.

1. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill, of attainder, or *ex post facto* law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the *census* or enumeration, herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties, in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law, and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published, from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person, holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10.

1. No State shall enter into any alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter in any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger, as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1.

1. The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives, to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit, under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

3. The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate, shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one, who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose, shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the Vice-President.

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person, except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

9. "I do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2.

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges, of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of Departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen, during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3.

1. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4.

1. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1.

1. The Judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congres may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2.

1. The Judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State, claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place, or places, as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3.

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1.

1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings, of every other State. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in

which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2.

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed, or erected, within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed, by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory, or other property, belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4.

1. The United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

1. The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the sev-

eral States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress: Provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall, in any manner, affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States, under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust, under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

1. The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the

freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of a people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor, in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the places to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous, crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, or in time of war, or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offense, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory pro-

cess for obtaining witnesses in his favor; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact, tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

1. The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign, and certify, and transmit, sealed, to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Rep-

resentatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then, from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death, or other constitutional disability, of the President.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then, from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators; a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.